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EDITORIAL COMMITTEE

WILLIAM P. ARMSTRONG

JOHN DE WITT

W. BRENTON GREENE, JR.

J. OSCAR BOYD

GEERHARDUS VOS

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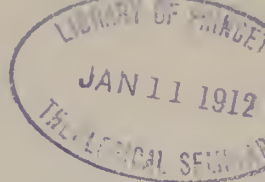
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NUMBER I.

THE HYMNS OF THE FIRST CHAPTER OF LUKE

The outward form of Lk i. 5-ii. 52 invites investigation of sources. The prologue of the Gospel (Lk i. 1-4) is a genuine Greek period, clearly indicative of the literary culture of its author; yet it is followed by one of the most Hebraistic portions of the New Testament. Lk i.5-ii.52 exhibits throughout a marked affinity for the better portions of the Septuagint; while in the brief compass of the prologue there are no less than five words¹ that do not occur at all in the Septuagint, and six others that occur only rarely.² No greater contrast in style could be imagined than that which exists between Lk i. 1-4 and the passage which immediately follows. The contrast has usually been explained by supposing that the author of the Gospel is closely following a source in Lk i. 5-ii. 52. The prologue represents Luke's own style; the following passage represents the style of one of his sources.

In recent years this conclusion has been disputed by Holtzmann,³ by Dalman,⁴ and especially by Harnack.⁵ Harnack

¹ ἐπειδὴ περ, ἀνατάσσομαι, ἀντόπτῃς, καθέξῃς, κατηχέω.

² ἐπιχειρεῖν occurs about twelve times, of which seven fall in the literary Greek of 2, 3, 4 Maccabees; διήγησις occurs about twelve times, mostly in Sirach; πληροφορέω occurs only once; ὑπηρέτης, only four times; ἀκριβῶς, about five times; παρακολουθέω, only twice, in 2 Maccabees (the text doubtful in both places).

³ *Hand-Commentar*, I. i. p. 19.

⁴ *Worte Jesu*, i. pp. 31f., 150, 183, 226, 249.

⁵ *Das Magnificat der Elisabeth* (Luc. i, 46-55) nebst einigen Bemerk-

would explain the difference in style between the prologue and the passage that immediately follows by the conscious art of the author. In the prologue, Luke is writing according to his own natural style; in the following narrative, he is imitating the style of the Septuagint. At first sight the hypothesis seems very unlikely. It attributes to Luke a refinement of art which hardly seems natural in an ancient writer. But first impressions must be modified. For as a matter of fact imitations of the Septuagint in the Lucan writings cannot altogether be denied. For example, despite his literary affinities, Luke uses the Hebraistic *ἐγένετο* far more than it is used by any other New Testament writer. Evidently Luke had a keen appreciation for what might be called the "Bible style" of the Septuagint, and felt that it was peculiarly fitted to be the vehicle of his own sacred narrative. Harnack's contention amounts to this: In treating in a poetical manner the events connected with the Saviour's birth, Luke simply carried the imitation of the Septuagint style somewhat further than he did when he was narrating in a more matter of fact way the well-known events of the public ministry. In the latter case, the subject-matter did not lend itself so readily to artistic imitation of the Old Testament, and furthermore Luke was hindered by his sources from carrying out his plans with perfect freedom. The hypothesis of Harnack cannot therefore be regarded as inherently impossible.

In a very careful way, Harnack has gone through representative sections of Lk i. 5-ii. 52 pointing out Lucan peculiarities—that is, words or usages which occur only in Luke and Acts among the New Testament writings or else occur more frequently there than in the rest of the New Testament and especially in Matthew and Mark. The work of Harnack has received a valuable supplement from Zim-

ungen zu Luc. i und 2, in *Sitzungsberichte der königlich preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*, 1900, pp. 537-556; *Lukas der Arzt*, 1906, pp. 69-75, 138-152; cf. *Neue Untersuchungen zur Apostelgeschichte*, 1911, pp. 108-110.

mermann.⁶ Zimmermann examined in detail those portions of the passage in question which were left unexamined in Harnack's former discussion. In Harnack's more recent work he has carried the examination through part of the sections that had been covered by Zimmermann.⁷

Harnack and Zimmermann agree in excluding a Greek written source for Lk i. 5-ii. 52. The style of the passage,

**Evangelium des Lukas* Kap. 1 und 2, in *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, 1903, pp. 247-290. Cf. also Plummer, in his commentary (in the *International Critical Commentary*), and Stanton, *The Gospels as Historical Documents*, ii (1909), pp. 291-295. All of these recent investigators were anticipated by Gersdorf nearly one hundred years ago. In his *Beiträge zur Sprachcharacteristik der Schriftsteller des Neuen Testaments*, 1816, he defended the genuineness of the first two chapters of Matthew and Luke by an elaborate linguistic argument. The chapters in question were explored very much after the method that has been adopted by Harnack and Zimmermann. Lk i-ii, for example, was traversed from beginning to end in order to exhibit those linguistic features which connect it with the rest of Luke-Acts as the work of the same writer. In thoroughness, Gersdorf is not one whit inferior to the more recent investigators. In the following discussion it will be observed how very seldom Harnack or Zimmermann has detected a Lucan characteristic which Gersdorf had not already observed; and in a number of cases, Gersdorf observed what his successors have overlooked. Gersdorf labored with insufficient textual materials, and was too much inclined to emend the text in order to secure absolute uniformity of style; but such faults do not affect the permanent usefulness of his work. In recent years, however, the book has been altogether neglected even by scholars who have worked over exactly the same ground. Feine (*Eine vorkanonische Überlieferung des Lukas*, 1891, p. 19) alone among recent investigators has recognized the value of Gersdorf's work.

⁷ The result is as follows:—i. 5-15 has been examined both by Harnack and by Zimmermann; i. 16-38, by Zimmermann; i. 39-56, by Harnack, supplemented by Zimmermann; i. 57-67, by Zimmermann; i. 68-79, by Harnack, supplemented by Zimmermann; i. 80-ii. 14, by Zimmermann; ii. 15-20, by Harnack, supplemented by Zimmermann; ii. 21-40, by Zimmermann; ii. 41-52, by Harnack, supplemented by Zimmermann. It will be observed that the essay of Zimmermann was written after Harnack's earlier work, but before the later work. In his later work, Harnack displays no acquaintance with Zimmermann's investigations. In i. 5-15, therefore, Harnack and Zimmermann have investigated the same material independently. In view of their independence, the agreement of the two investigators in many of the proofs urged in this passage becomes significant.

after making due allowance for peculiarity of the subject-matter and for imitation of the Septuagint, is found to be so totally Lucan, that Luke must have been something more than the mere editor. He must have been the first to treat the material in a Greek narrative. If he had used a Greek source, the style of the source would necessarily appear in the use of words that are not characteristically Lucan. So far Harnack and Zimmermann agree. But they differ in what they substitute for the hypothesis of a Greek source. Zimmermann supposes that Luke used an Aramaic written source which he translated himself; Harnack, while admitting the possibility of an Aramaic source, thinks it probable that Luke depended merely upon oral tradition.

Harnack began his investigation with the Magnificat (which he supposes to have been attributed by the author to Elisabeth, not to Mary) and the Benedictus. These hymns, despite first appearances, he maintains, are so totally Lucan in style that in the case of them even the hypothesis of an Aramaic source, possible for the rest of the narrative, is excluded. Luke himself composed the Magnificat and the Benedictus, and [after the manner of ancient historians] put them into the mouth of the characters of his narrative. Of course, Luke did not compose the poems in his own language; he pieced them together from the Septuagint. But subtract the Septuagint passages which he used, and the little that remains is sufficient to reveal quite clearly the hand of Luke. This argument, which has been elaborated in *Lukas der Arzt*, but appeared in essentials in 1900, was subjected to an acute criticism by Spitta.⁸ Spitta pointed out that the Septuagint materials out of which Harnack thought the Magnificat was composed were arbitrarily limit-

⁸ Das Magnifikat, ein Psalm der Maria und nicht der Elisabeth, in *Theologische Abhandlungen für Holtzmann*, 1902, pp. 61-94, especially pp. 79-84. Cf. also Hilgenfeld, Die Geburts- und Kindheitsgeschichte Jesu, in *Zeitschrift für die wissenschaftliche Theologie*, 1901, pp. 211 ff., and Ladeuze, De l'origine du Magnificat et de son attribution dans le troisième Évangile à Marie ou à Élisabeth, in *Revue d' Histoire ecclésiastique*, 4, 1903, pp. 632 ff.

ed. The supposed Lucan words which Harnack detected, are really derived from the Septuagint just as truly as the rest of the poem—only they are derived from passages other than those which Harnack arbitrarily chose to regard as the basis of the composition. Thus Harnack claims as Lucan such characteristic Septuagint words and phrases as *μεγαλύνειν* (v. 46), *ἐπιβλέπειν ἐπὶ* (v. 48),⁹ *ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν* (v. 48), *ἐξαποστέλλειν* (v. 53). It is unfortunate that before writing his *Lukas der Arzt* Harnack did not notice the criticism of Spitta.¹⁰ For it is not too much to say that Spitta's criticism amounted to a complete refutation. Subtract the Septuagint words and phrases from the Magnificat, and really nothing remains to indicate Lucan authorship. It will not be necessary to go over the ground already traversed by Spitta; and in his subsequent discussion of the Magnificat Harnack has added nothing of real significance. It should only be remarked (1) that *τὸ ἔλεος* (v. 50)¹¹ can hardly be claimed as specifically Lucan, since it occurs not at all in Acts and only once in Luke outside of the first two chapters, while it is very strongly attested in Mt ix. 13 (citation), xii. 7 (same citation), and xxiii. 23,¹² and occurs very frequently in the Septuagint;¹³ (2) that *οἱ φοβούμενοι* (*τοῖς φοβουμένοις*) *τὸν θεόν* is simply an Old Testament phrase, common, for example, in the Psalms;¹⁴ (3) that *ἐνπλήρημι* (v. 53) occurs in one of the Septuagint passages which

⁹ *ἐπιβλεψα ἐπὶ τὴν ταπείνωσιν* occurs 1 Sam ix. 16.

¹⁰ That Harnack has not read Spitta's criticism seems to be indicated by at least one obvious error that he has left uncorrected in *Lukas der Arzt*. He has overlooked *ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν* in 2 Cor v. 16, which was pointed out by Spitta.

¹¹ *Lukas der Arzt*, p. 141. Apparently Harnack intends the article merely as an indication of the gender (*ἔλεος, ἐλέους*, etc., as distinguished from *ἔλεος, ἐλέου*, etc.).

¹² Harnack has not mentioned the passages in Matthew!

¹³ Cf. Thackeray, *Grammar of the Old Testament in Greek*, i. p. 158.

¹⁴ There is no reason whatever for conjecturing with Harnack (*loc. cit.*) that Luke wishes the phrase to be understood in a technical sense as in Acts.

Harnack himself¹⁵ cites as parallel, and is very frequent in the Septuagint in general; and (4) that ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι (v. 54)¹⁶ also occurs in one of Harnack's own parallels and elsewhere in the Septuagint.

With regard to the rest of Lk i. 5-ii. 52, a method of investigation somewhat similar to that of Spitta should be pursued. The words and phrases which Harnack, Zimmermann and other investigators regard as Lucan characteristics should be examined as to their occurrence in the Septuagint.¹⁷ If it be discovered that the supposed Lucan characteristics are also characteristic of the Septuagint, the argument for Lucan authorship will be decidedly weakened. Luke imitated the style of the Septuagint. But he need not have

¹⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 142.

¹⁶ Harnack, *op. cit.*, p. 142.

¹⁷ Resch, *Das Kindheitsevangelium*, 1897, in *Texte und Untersuchungen* x. 5, pp. 30-43, 45-51, 55 f., has cited a great number of Old Testament parallels, giving the Hebrew text, as well as the Septuagint rendering. In the present investigation, Hatch-Redpath, *Concordance to the Septuagint*, will be used for the Old Testament; for the New Testament, Moulton and Geden, *Concordance to the Greek Testament*, second edition. In giving simply the number of cases where a word or phrase occurs, information provided by the concordances will be accepted without further acknowledgment; where definite passages are cited, the references will be verified. The names of those investigators who have called attention to the several real or supposed Lucan characteristics, will be mentioned in footnotes. In the case of Gersdorf, Harnack, and Zimmermann, references will not be given: their remarks about the usage in question can easily be found in their works as mentioned above, pp. 1, 2, 3. Where other writers are referred to, nothing is implied as to the inferences which they have drawn from the usage in question. Hawkins, for example, in his *Horae Synopticae* has constructed lists of Lucan characteristics, without attempting to determine their significance. In quoting statistics from Hawkins, the material will be arranged, without further remark, in the order that suits the present purpose of the discussion, and some details will be omitted. For instance the number of occurrences in Lk i-ii will be noted first, and the division between various parts of the rest of Luke and of Acts will not be reproduced. Finally, in the following discussion, no attempt at absolute completeness will be made. Some of the words and phrases which Harnack and others have regarded as signs of Lucan authorship will have to be passed over without remark.

been the only early Christian writer who imitated it.¹⁸ Even Harnack will admit that the similarity to the Septuagint is far more striking in Lk i-ii than in any other part of the Lucan writings. If this Septuagint element be subtracted, are there enough Lucan peculiarities left to prove anything more than Lucan editorship?¹⁹

¹⁸ Cf. Stanton, *op. cit.*, ii. pp. 224 f.

¹⁹ Ladeuze (*op. cit.*, p. 638, note), in criticism of Spitta (with whom he agrees in many points), has defended Harnack against this mode of attack: "Dans l'examen détaillé qu'il fait de l'argument de M. Harnack, M. Spitta s'attache surtout à montrer que les expressions relevées par le professeur de Berlin se retrouvent fréquemment dans les LXX. Cette réponse n'a aucune valeur, s'il est établi d'autre part que les autres auteurs du N. T. n'emploient pas les mêmes expressions. Luc aura eu dans sa langue propre bien des termes et des formules que la *κοινή* avait en commun avec les LXX." This caution deserves to be borne well in mind. Common dependence of two writings upon the language of the Septuagint does not necessarily involve linguistic coincidence with each other. Coincidence of the two writings with each other, therefore, may establish common authorship, even though the criteria by which the coincidence is established are all derived from the common model. All the New Testament writers are dependent upon the Septuagint. If therefore Lk i-ii coincides with the rest of Luke in using certain Septuagint expressions, which the other New Testament writers do not use, even that may establish the Lucan authorship of the chapters in question. Why are those particular expressions not found in the rest of the New Testament, whereas they are found in Lk i-ii and in the rest of Luke? Because the other New Testament writers, though they used the Septuagint, made a different use of it; they made different selections from the vast store which it provided. The fact that Lk i-ii exhibits a similar selection from the Septuagint to that exhibited by the rest of Luke may indicate common authorship. But when it is observed that the similarity in language between Luke and the Septuagint, and particularly between Lk i-ii and the Septuagint, is far greater than that between the Septuagint and the other New Testament writers, then the coincidences in language between Lk i-ii and the rest of Luke become less significant. Where else in the New Testament can a section be found which approximates so closely as Lk i-ii to the narrative of the Old Testament? The exceptionally close affinity of Lk iii-Acts xxviii to Lk i-ii may be due simply to an exceptionally close affinity to the Septuagint in general. Other New Testament writers may be found to diverge more (than Luke does) from Lk i-ii simply because they diverge more from the Septuagint. However, the caution urged by Ladeuze is wholesome. When it is proved that the "Lucan character-

In the rest of the present article not all of Lk i-ii, but only the Benedictus (Lk i. 68-79) can be discussed.^{19a}

Verse 68. ἐπισκέπτομαι (ἐπεσκέψατο)²⁰ is used of the activity of God frequently in the Septuagint²¹ and in Ps. Sol. iii. 14.²² It is also sometimes used absolutely in the Septuagint. Neither of these uses of the word, therefore, is peculiarly Lucan.²³

Verse 69. That ἐγείρω is substituted for ἐξανatéλλω (Ps cxxxii. 17) or ὑψόω (1 Sam ii. 10) or ἀνατέλλω (Ezek xxix. 21) in view of the resurrection of Christ²⁴ is an unproved assertion. Cf. Judg iii. 9 ἤγειρε κύριος σωτήρα τῷ Ἰσραήλ. In his earlier work Harnack himself cited this passage.

σωτηρία²⁵ can hardly be called a "favorite expression of Luke", since besides the three occurrences in Lk i-ii it occurs only once in Luke and six times in Acts (once in a Septuagint citation). It is true that it occurs only once in John and not at all in Matthew and Mark. But it occurs about nineteen times in Paul. In the Septuagint it is very frequent. See also Ps. Sol. x. 9; xii. 7.²⁶ Its use here in Lk i. 69 is clearly derived from the Septuagint.

Verse 70. διὰ στόματος²⁷ occurs elsewhere, it is true, only in Acts and probably in Mt iv. 4.²⁸ Furthermore the "istics" in Lk i-ii are also Septuagint characteristics, the significance of those characteristics in supporting Lucan authorship is not removed, but only diminished.

^{19a} See Harnack, *Lukas der Arzt*, pp. 143-146; Gersdorf, *op. cit.*, pp. 206-212.

²⁰ Gersdorf, Harnack.

²¹ Ruth i. 6 ἐπέσκεπται κύριος τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ is perhaps as worthy to be regarded as furnishing the basis for the present verse as is either of the passages cited by Harnack.

²² See Ryle and James, *ΨΑΛΜΟΙ ΣΟΛΟΜΩΝΤΟΣ* *Psalms of the Pharisees commonly called Psalms of Solomon*, p. xcii.

²³ Cf. Resch, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

²⁴ Harnack.

²⁵ Harnack, cf. Gersdorf, Hawkins, *Horae Synopticae*, 2nd. ed., 1909, p. 22.

²⁶ Ryle and James, *op. cit.*, p. xcii.

²⁷ Gersdorf, Harnack.

²⁸ Harnack eliminates the passage in Matthew by following without comment the Western text, which omits ἐκπορευομενω δια στοματος; Gersdorf dismisses it with the remark that it is a citation.

phrase is rare in the Septuagint. It should be noticed, however, that the occurrences in Acts fall without exception in speeches placed in the mouth of Jewish Christians. Very probably those passages were derived from Jewish Christian sources. At any rate, Luke must have felt the phrase to be Jewish in character—otherwise he would not have confined his use of it to the speeches. It must therefore have been in use in Jewish circles or in Jewish writings. This coincidence in usage, therefore, between Lk i and Acts does not necessarily prove unity of authorship. It may also be explained by a common adherence on the part of two authors to a Jewish Christian usage. However, the argument of Gersdorf and Harnack is not altogether without significance.

The addition of ἅγιος (ἁγίων)²⁹ can hardly be called specifically Lucan. The word is exceedingly common in the Septuagint.

The remarkable clause, καθὼς ἐλάλησεν διὰ στόματος τῶν ἁγίων ἀπ' αἰῶνος προφητῶν αὐτοῦ³⁰ is strikingly similar to Acts xii. 21, ὃν ἐλάλησεν ὁ θεὸς διὰ στόματος τῶν ἁγίων ἀπ' αἰῶνος αὐτοῦ προφητῶν. First, however, the question must be raised whether the coincidence is not due simply to a harmonistic correction of the text by a scribe. In Lk i. 70, ἀπ αἰωνος is certainly genuine; for, although its position varies, it is omitted by no witness.³¹ In Acts iii. 21, however, ἀπ αἰωνος is omitted by D etc. The various readings may be exhibited as follows:^{31a}

των αγιων αυτου των προφητων. D, supported at least in the omission of ἀπ αἰωνος by 19. [Souter cites 28, instead of 19] h gig p [these three are cited by Souter] arm Cosm⁵⁰³

²⁹ Harnack, *cf.* Hawkins, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

³⁰ Gersdorf, Harnack.

³¹ **AB** etc. have των αγιων απ αινος προφητων αυτου (the great mass of the later witnesses insert των after αγιων); whereas D supported by many Old Latin manuscripts reads αγιων προφητων αυτου των απ αινος.

^{31a} For the most part, the evidence has simply been taken (with some omissions) from Tischendorf, *Novum Testamentum Graece*, ed. viii. maj. *Cf.* Souter, *Novum Testamentum Graece*.

[according to Souter, Cosmas places the phrase before *αυτου προφητων* as in $\aleph B$] Ir^{int 194} Tert^{res carn 23} Orig^{lat} [Souter].

των αγιων απ αιωνος αυτου προφητων. \aleph^*AB^*C 6I. 69.
[Souter cites, instead of 6I. 69., 8I. 429. al]

(*παντων*) *των αγιων των απ αιωνος αυτου προφητων.*
 \aleph^cB^3E al cat

των αγιων αυτου (4. 13. add *των*) *απ αιωνος προφητων.* 4.
13. Or^{3,221} (vg) (Or^{3,798})

(*παντων*) *των αγιων αυτου προφητων απ αιωνος.* P al
plu syr^{utr} cop (sah) aeth Chr^{9,86} (et^{9,81} *των αγιων αυτω*
προφητων των απ αιωνος).

If the short reading preserved by D were original, then the varying position of *απ αιωνος* in the other witnesses would be easily explained. The phrase was supplied from Lk i. 70, but different scribes inserted it in different places.³² The position of *αυτου* before *προφητων* both in $\aleph B$ and in P etc.³³ would be explained as a survival from the original reading, where *αυτου* was construed with the preceding *αγιων*.³⁴ Furthermore the designation of the Old Testament prophets as "saints", though unusual, is not impossible in New Testament usage. If *απ αιωνος* is thus not genuine in Acts iii. 21, then the striking similarity between this passage and Lk i. 70 disappears, and there is no longer any argument for unity of authorship. On the other hand, however, the textual phenomena in Acts iii. 21 may also be explained on the supposition that the reading of $\aleph B$ is correct. The phrase *απ αιωνος* naturally gave difficulty to ancient as well as to modern readers—hence its omission in D etc. The reading of P with the mass of later witnesses

³² See Souter's note.

³³ It stands after *προφητων* in Lk i. 70.

³⁴ 4. 13. and P etc. would preserve the original *των αγιων αυτου* intact.

may be due to re-insertion of *απ αἰωνος* into the D-text, or (more probably) represents an attempt at simplification of the *NB*-text, the heaping of three adjective expressions (*αἰωνων*, *απ αἰωνος*, and *αυτου*) between article and noun being felt to be cumbrous.³⁵ On the whole, there seems to be no sufficient reason for deserting *NB* at this point in favor of the inferior Western documents.³⁶ The coincidence, then, between Lk i. 70 and Acts iii. 21 probably remains.

This coincidence can hardly be due merely to an accident—the expression is too remarkable for that. The coincidence must be explained. But unity of authorship is by no means the only possible explanation. For example, why may not the author of the expression in Acts have been dependent upon the author of Lk i. 70? Suppose, for a moment, in opposition to Harnack, that the Benedictus (Lk i. 68-79) is a Jewish Christian hymn. It was well known to Luke, and if rightly or wrongly he supposed it to have been produced by Zacharias, the father of John the Baptist, he must have regarded it highly. He may then have allowed it to color his language in Acts iii. 21. There is nothing at all improbable in such an hypothesis.³⁷ It should be observed further that Acts iii. 21 is part of a speech of Peter. The primitive, Jewish character of the speeches in the early part of Acts has often been noticed. Coincidence between one of these speeches, therefore, and Lk i does not prove the Lucan authorship of both. Luke was perhaps not the

³⁵ A similar remark may be made about the reading of 4.13., though this reading is perhaps more probably to be derived from the short reading of D and only indirectly from the reading of *NB*.

³⁶ The alternative hypothesis remains very attractive, however, on account of the easy explanation that it affords of the three variants attested by *NB*, P etc., and 4.13. respectively. Suspicion of the phrase *απ αἰωνος* cannot be altogether dissipated simply by the weight of external attestation.

³⁷ Such dependence of the author of Luke-Acts upon the songs of Lk i-ii is accepted in the case of the Gloria in excelsis by Holtzmann, B. Weiss, J. Weiss, and Gould.

author of Acts iii. 12-26 any more than of Lk i. 68-79. In both cases, he may have been merely the editor. But even if Acts iii. 12-26 is pre-Lucan—indeed even if it is an actual speech of Peter in its original form—the hypothesis of direct dependence upon Lk i. 70 remains possible. Why may not Peter himself have known the primitive hymn, the *Benedictus*, so that its language came naturally to his lips? It must be admitted that this hypothesis, though possible, is hardly probable. For there is no evidence that the narrative-cycle represented by Lk i-ii was known at the very earliest time by the Christian community in Jerusalem. Peter would hardly have had time to become so familiar with the *Benedictus* as to use its language spontaneously in a speech. If he did so, then it was probably because he was under the overpowering first impression made by the narrative of the infancy of John and Jesus. But such an hypothesis cannot here be argued. The problem of the speeches in Acts may fairly be left out of account. Even if Acts iii. 12-26 is genuinely Petrine, it hardly reproduces a verbatim report, or a literal translation of one. The wording, at any rate, is probably due either to Luke, or to his sources. But either Luke himself, or the earlier author of a Jewish Christian source may well have allowed the *Benedictus* to color his language, most of all, where, as in a speech of Peter, the Jewish Christian spirit was to be preserved.

No particular explanation of the coincidence between Lk i. 70 and Acts iii. 21 need here be defended. All that is insisted upon is that Lucan authorship of both passages is by no means the only possible explanation. A number of other explanations suggest themselves.

*ἀπ' αἰῶνος*³⁸ occurs elsewhere in the New Testament only in Lk i. 70, Acts iii. 21, xv. 18. But similar phrases³⁹ are not uncommon in the Septuagint.⁴⁰ It should be observed

³⁸ Harnack.

³⁹ ἐξ αἰῶνος, ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰῶνος, etc.

⁴⁰ This very phrase occurs in Jer ii.20, xxv.5, Ezek xxxii.27, Da (LXX) viii. 11, 3 Macc v. 11.

that both occurrences in Acts are in the speeches of Jewish Christians.

Verse 71 (also verse 74). *ἐκ χειρός*,⁴¹ though it recurs in just the same sense as here only in Acts xii. 11,⁴² can hardly be regarded as specifically Lucan. It occurs in the passage (Ps cvi. 10) quoted by Harnack as the basis for this verse, and elsewhere in the Septuagint. The phrase in Acts is attributed to a Jewish Christian (Peter).

Verse 72. *ποιῆσαι ἔλεος μετά*,⁴³ though it occurs again only at Lk x. 37 in the New Testament, is not specifically Lucan. It is a common Septuagint phrase, produced in imitation of Hebrew.⁴⁴

For the addition of *ἀγίας*⁴⁵ see above on verse 70.

Verse 73. *ὄρκον δὲ ὥμοσε*.⁴⁶ Cf. Acts ii. 30 *ὄρκῳ ὥμοσεν*, the only other passage in the New Testament where *ὁμνῶ* is used with *ὄρκος*. The usage occurs in the Septuagint: Gen xxvi. 3 *τὸν ὄρκον μου δὲ ὥμοσα Ἀβραάμ*—a close parallel to Lk i. 73, (Ex xiii. 19 *ὄρκῳ γὰρ ὤρκισε*), Nu xxx.3 *ἡ ὁμολογία ὄρκον*, Deut vii. 8 *τὸν ὄρκον δὲ ὥμοσεν τοῖς πατράσιν ὑμῶν*,^{46a} Josh ix. 20 *διὰ τὸν ὄρκον δὲ ὥμώσαμεν*.⁴⁷ Such a use of accusative or dative is common in the New Testament; it is merely by chance that it occurs with *ὁμνῶ* only in this passage and in Acts.

The use of *πρός c. acc.*,⁴⁸ though unusually common in Luke and Acts, is hardly any sure test of Lucan style. The fact, which is not noticed by Harnack, that this usage occurs almost exactly as frequently in Lk i-ii in proportion to

⁴¹ Gersdorf.

⁴² *ἐκ τῆς χειρός* occurs in John x.28, 29, 39, and in Apoc x.8; *ἐκ χειρός* appears in Apoc viii.4 and xix.2, but not with the same meaning as in Lk i.71, 74.

⁴³ Gersdorf, Harnack.

⁴⁴ See also Ryle and James, *op. cit.*, p. xcii, where attention is called to the occurrence in Ps. Sol. vi. 9.

⁴⁵ Harnack.

⁴⁶ Gersdorf.

^{46a} Cited by Resch, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

⁴⁷ Cf. also other passages cited by Resch (*loc. cit.*).

⁴⁸ Harnack.

the length of the passage as in the whole Gospel of Luke⁴⁹ may possibly be significant for determining the authorship of the infancy narrative as a whole; but the one occurrence in the Benedictus surely proves absolutely nothing about the authorship of the hymn. *πρός c. acc.* is nowhere rare. It is true that *ὁμνῶ* seems always to have the dative, never *πρός c. acc.*, in the Septuagint.⁵⁰ But *πρός c. acc.* in this connection cannot be proved to be specifically Lucan, for in the only other passage (Act ii. 30) where Luke uses *ὁμνῶ* he follows it with the dative.

Verse 74. For *δοῦναι c. infin.*⁵¹ compare, for example, Gen xxxi. 7 *καὶ οὐκ ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ ὁ θεὸς κακοποιῆσαί με* and Job xxii. 27.

τοῦ c. infin.,⁵² epexegetical or expressing purpose, which occurs three times in the Benedictus⁵³ and once besides in Lk i-ii,⁵⁴ is far more frequent in Luke and Acts than in the rest of the New Testament.⁵⁵ But this usage is very common in the Septuagint.⁵⁶ A Jewish Christian writer could hardly avoid it.

λατρεύειν,⁵⁷ which occurs twice in Lk i-iii, once in the rest of Luke (citation), once in Matthew (same citation), five times in Acts, four times in Paul,⁵⁸ six times in Hebrews, twice in the Apocalypse, is rather common in the Pentateuch, and in Joshua and Judges. It is certainly no clear indication of Lucan style.

⁴⁹ There are seventeen occurrences in the first two chapters, and (by Harnack's count) one hundred and sixty-six occurrences in the whole Gospel.

⁵⁰ Cf. Gen xxvi.3 *τὸν ὄρκον ὃν ὤμοσα τῷ Ἀβραάμ.*

⁵¹ Harnack.

⁵² Gersdorf.

⁵³ Here and i. 77, 79.

⁵⁴ Lk ii. 24.

⁵⁵ Moulton, *A Grammar of New Testament Greek*, Vol i, Prolegomena, (second edition, 1906), pp. 216-218, gives statistics. The Lucan writings supply two-thirds of the total. Cf. Hawkins, *op cit.*, pp. 22, 48.

⁵⁶ See Thackeray, *op cit.*, i. p. 24.

⁵⁷ Harnack, Zimmermann, cf. Hawkins, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

⁵⁸ Zimmermann overlooks the occurrences in Paul, Hebrews, and the Apocalypse.

Verse 75. *ἐνώπιον*⁵⁹ occurs five times in Lk i-ii (twice in the Benedictus), about eighteen times in the rest of Luke, thirteen times in Acts, not at all in Matthew and Mark, once in John, seventeen times in Paul, twice in Hebrews, four times in the Catholic Epistles, and about thirty-two times in the Apocalypse. The word is very common in the Septuagint, especially in Samuel-Kings and in the Psalms.⁶⁰ Its frequency is due to its adoption by the translators from vernacular Greek as a convenient translation of the Hebrew *בְּעֵינַי* and *לִפְנֵי*.⁶¹ Its relative frequency in Luke and Acts is due to Luke's imitation of the Septuagint. It is certainly no clear indication of Lucan style. Luke was probably not the only early Christian writer who imitated the Septuagint—witness the very common employment of *ἐνώπιον* in the Apocalypse. The word would very naturally be used by any Christian writer, but especially by a Jewish Christian. The entire absence of *ἐνώπιον* from Matthew and Mark and its very sparing use in John remain very surprising.⁶²

Verse 76. *ὑψίστου*.⁶³ *ὑψιστος* as a designation of God, occurs three times in Lk i-ii, twice in the rest of Luke, twice in Acts (one of these in the speech of a Jewish Christian, Stephen), once in Mark, (where, despite Harnack, it is scarcely doubtful), and once in Hebrews. It is rather common in the Septuagint, and is therefore no clear mark of Lucan style. Anarthrous *ὑψιστος* as a designation of God occurs in the New Testament three times in Lk i-ii, and once in the rest of Luke. That is surely insufficient to stamp the usage as Lucan; especially since it is exceedingly common in Sirach, and occurs a few times elsewhere in the Septuagint.

⁵⁹ Harnack, Zimmermann; cf. Stanton, *op. cit.*, pp. 291, 292, Hawkins, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

⁶⁰ Resch, *op. cit.*, p. 42, cites 1 Sam ii. 18, where the Septuagint has *καὶ Σαμουὴλ ἦν λειτουργῶν ἐνώπιον κυρίου*.

⁶¹ See Thackeray, *op. cit.*, pp. 42f., and compare Deissmann, *Neue Bibelstudien*, pp. 41f.

⁶² Cf. Thackeray, *loc. cit.*, footnote.

⁶³ Harnack, *Lukas der Arzt*, pp. 36, 145; Zimmermann, on Lk i. 32; cf. Hawkins, *op. cit.*, p. 23, Dalman, *op. cit.*, pp. 162f.

*προπορεύση*⁶⁴. *προπορεύεσθαι* occurs elsewhere in the New Testament only in Acts vii. 40 (in the speech of Stephen). But that passage is a citation from Exodus xxxii. 1, 2, 3, and the word occurs elsewhere in the Septuagint as well.⁶⁵ The argument has absolutely no weight.

*πρὸ προσώπου*⁶⁶ is probably not the correct reading. It is supported by D it and the mass of the Syrian documents. It was probably inserted by a scribe under the influence of the Septuagint of the well-known passage, Mal iii. 1. If, however, it is original, it is no mark of Lucan style. *πρὸ προσώπου* occurs elsewhere in the New Testament three times in the rest of Luke (once in the Malachi citation), once in Acts, once in Matthew (Malachi citation), once in Mark (Malachi citation); but it is frequent in the Septuagint, and Mal iii. 1 made its employment in Lk i. 76 very natural.

Verse 77. *γνώσις*⁶⁷ is not peculiarly Lucan. Though it occurs in the Gospels only here and in Lk xi. 52, it is frequent in Paul, and not infrequent in parts of the Septuagint.

*ἄφεσις ἁμαρτιῶν*⁶⁸ occurs twice in the rest of Luke, five times in Acts, once in Matthew, once in Mark (Mk i. 4=Lk iii. 3), and once in Paul. It does not occur at all in the Septuagint. The argument for Lucan authorship is stronger here than in the cases which have been discussed before. But in view of Mk i. 4 (Lk iii. 3), the hypothesis suggests itself that the Greek expression is derived from a phrase current in the circles from which John the Baptist came. Compare *ἀφήσει ἁμαρτίας* in Ps. Sol. ix. 14.⁶⁹

Verse 78. *ἐξ ὕψους*⁷⁰ occurs elsewhere in the New Testament only in Lk xxiv. 49.⁷¹ But compare 2 Sam xxii. 17,

⁶⁴ Gersdorf, Harnack.

⁶⁵ For example, Deut xxxi. 3, cited by Harnack.

⁶⁶ Gersdorf, Zimmermann.

⁶⁷ Harnack.

⁶⁸ Gersdorf, Harnack.

⁶⁹ Cited by Ryle and James, *op. cit.*, p. xcii.

⁷⁰ Gersdorf, Harnack.

⁷¹ *δύναμις ἐξ ὕψους*

P^s xvii. 16, ci. 19, cxliii. 7, Si xvi. 17, La i. 13.

Verse 79. ἐπιφάναι.⁷³ ἐπιφαίνω occurs elsewhere in the New Testament once in Acts and twice in Titus. But it is not specifically Lucan. It occurs a number of times in the Septuagint, nearly always of the manifestations of God (often it is transitive). See especially the notable passage, Nu vi. 25 (the Benediction), and Ep Jer 60, where the word occurs in connection with ἀστραπή, which is somewhat related in idea to the ἀνατολή of the present passage.

ὁδὸν εἰρήνης.⁷⁴ The expressions ὁδὸν σωτηρίας (Acts xvi. 17) and ὁδοὺς ζωῆς (Acts ii. 28) are somewhat similar. But the latter passage is simply a citation from Ps xv. (xvi.) 11. Furthermore, ὁδὸν εἰρήνης itself occurs in Rom iii. 17, and a similar expression (ὁδὸν δικαιοσύνης) in 2 Pet 21. ὁδὸς εἰρήνης is a Septuagint expression. Rom iii. 17 is derived from Ps xiii. 3. For similar expressions, compare Gen xxiv. 48, Ps xv. 16, etc.

The word εἰρήνη itself occurs in Hawkins' list of Lucan characteristics.⁷⁴ But it is very common in the Septuagint.

It is now time to attempt to draw some conclusion with regard to the hymns. Of Hawkins' one hundred and fifty-one "Lucan" words and phrases,⁷⁵ no less than eighteen occur in the Magnificat or Benedictus, the total number of occurrences there being twenty-four.⁷⁶ In addition, Hawkins has placed in his "subsidiary lists"⁷⁷ two words one of which occurs once in the Benedictus, and the other once in

⁷³ Harnack.

⁷⁴ Harnack.

⁷⁵ Hawkins' figures are: Matthew, four occurrences; Mark, one; Luke, thirteen (three in Lk i-ii); Acts, seven; Paul, forty-two; John, six; the rest of the New Testament, seventeen.

⁷⁶ That is "words and phrases which occur at least four times in this Gospel, and which either (a) are not found at all in Matthew or Mark, or (b) are found in Luke at least twice as often as in Matthew and Mark together".

⁷⁷ Ten expressions, each occurring only once, in the Magnificat; nine expressions, occurring thirteen times in all, in the Benedictus.

⁷⁸ Which are at least as clearly indicative of Lucan style as is the principal list.

the Magnificat and twice in the Benedictus. At first sight, such statistics seem formidable. But the argument which might be drawn from them for Lucan authorship has been weakened by the investigations of Spitta, which have been supplemented for the Benedictus by the preceding discussion. The Lucan expressions are found to be also Old Testament expressions, which would occur naturally to any Jewish Christian. Whether he was translating Aramaic hymns or composing the hymns originally in Greek, he could hardly fail to be influenced profoundly by the Septuagint.⁷⁸

One argument of Harnack remains—an argument drawn not from details, but from the structure of the hymns.⁷⁹ The skilful management of the repeated *μου* and *αὐτός* in the Magnificat, and of *αὐτός* and *ἡμεῖς* in the Benedictus, and in general the elaborate character of the poetic compo-

⁷⁸ One or two of the expressions in the hymns which appear in Hawkins' lists have not been discussed either by Spitta or in the preceding pages. The one occurrence (Lk. i. 70) of *ὁ* "with words inserted between the art. and noun" (Hawkins, *op. cit.*, pp. 27, 50) is no sure sign of Lucan authorship. The usage is not rare even outside of Luke-Acts. *πρός* "used of speaking to" (compare above, pp. 13, 14, where the uses of *πρός* in general and of *πρός* after *ὁμνῶ* are discussed), which appears once in the Magnificat (Lk. i. 55) and once in the Benedictus (Lk. i. 73), occurs according to Hawkins (*op. cit.*, pp. 21, 45f.) twelve times in Lk. i.-ii., eighty-seven times in the rest of Luke, fifty-two times in Acts, not at all in Matthew, five times in Mark, twice in Paul, nineteen times in John, and four times in the rest of the New Testament. The preponderance of the usage in Luke and Acts is indeed very striking. But in the Septuagint of 1 Samuel and of 1 Chronicles, *πρός* after the leading verbs of saying (*εἶπον*, *ἔρω* etc., *λέγω*, and *λαλέω*) is even much more frequent in proportion to the dative than it is in Luke. Lk. iii.-Acts xxviii. has *πρός* about one hundred and seventeen times, and the dative about two hundred and thirty-two times; 1 Samuel has *πρός* one hundred and twenty-five times, and the dative ninety-one times; 1 Chronicles has *πρός* fifteen times and the dative nineteen times. Genesis has also been examined, and found to have *πρός* after these verbs seventy times and the dative two hundred and fifty-one times. The two occurrences of *πρός* "of speaking to" in the hymns are insufficient to support Lucan authorship.

⁷⁹ See *Sitzungsberichte der königl. preuss. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*, 1900, pp. 544 f., 552-556, and *Lukas der Arzt*, pp. 150-152.

sition is thought to indicate the hand of the artist Luke. With regard to the Benedictus, Harnack is particularly confident. "The first three strophes of the Benedictus (verses 68-75; in all, there are five strophes with four lines each) are only superficially put into the form of the Hebrew psalm; a closer examination reveals *a single, complicated, genuinely Greek period* which is altogether to the credit of the author of the prologue (Lk i. 1) and of numerous excellent Greek sentences. The period is merely forced into the Hebraising covering: the hands are Esau's hands, but the voice is the voice of Jacob."⁸⁰

How many of the niceties discovered by Harnack were intended by the authors of the hymns is a matter of doubt. At any rate, in order to prove Lucan authorship, Harnack should have exhibited by example (1) the likeness of these hymns to undisputed works of Luke and (2) their unlikeness to non-Lucan hymns. The former requirement is impossible of fulfilment. Luke has unfortunately left to posterity no certain examples of his poetry, if he ever wrote any. The most that could possibly be done would be to show that these hymns are Greek rather than Semitic in poetical form; that they are such as a native Greek must have produced, without a Semitic original, merely by moulding Hebrew materials into an imitation of a Hebrew poem. Obviously, examples in point are rather hard to find; at any rate, they have not yet been produced by Harnack. In the second place, if Harnack is unable to exhibit the likeness of the Magnificat and the Benedictus to undisputed Lucan works, he should have exhibited their unlikeness to non-Lucan and particularly Old Testament hymns. That could have been done only by examples. Until it is done, the proof remains incomplete. If some of the psalms of the Septuagint were to be examined by the same kind of minute scrutiny which Harnack has applied to the two hymns of Lk i, perhaps similar peculiarities of composition might be discovered.

⁸⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 152. The translation is independent of the English edition.

Harnack lays particular stress upon the first part of the Benedictus, Lk i. 68-75. But if he means to compare this sentence with the prologue, Lk i. 1-4, the comparison is particularly unfortunate. The two sentences are totally different. Lk i. 1-4 is one complete period; it could not grammatically be broken off until almost the very end. But Lk i. 68-75 could be broken off at the end of almost any one of the nine lines of which it is composed, and still make complete sense. The sentence is not planned as though the end were in view from the beginning, but is lengthened out by adding one exegetical phrase or clause after another, loosely and almost as an after-thought. Is that a characteristic Greek form of sentence? Does it not look more like the simplicity of Semitic poetry, forced into the restraints of Greek grammar? Compare for example such a passage as Ps. Sol. xviii. 7-9,⁸¹ which certainly is translated from a Semitic original:

μακάριοι οἱ γινόμενοι ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις
 ἰδεῖν τὰ ἀγαθὰ κυρίου, ἃ ποιήσει γενεᾷ τῇ ἐρχομένῃ,
 ὑπὸ ῥάβδον παιδείας χριστοῦ κυρίου ἐν φόβῳ θεοῦ αὐτοῦ,
 ἐν σοφίᾳ πνεύματος καὶ δικαιοσύνης καὶ ἰσχύος,
 κατευθῆναι ἄνδρα ἐν ἔργοις δικαιοσύνης φόβῳ θεοῦ,
 καταστήσαι πάντας αὐτοὺς ἐν φόβῳ κυρίου.

This passage is very much shorter than the passage from the Benedictus; but the sentence-structure, if "structure" it may be called, is very similar.

The Psalms of Solomon, from which this passage has been taken, afford material for other interesting comparisons with the hymns of Luke i.⁸² Of the parallels cited by Ryle and James a few are striking. Compare, for example, with Lk i. 50 (καὶ τὸ ἔλεος αὐτοῦ εἰς γενεὰς καὶ γενεὰς τοῖς φοβουμένοις αὐτόν) Ps. Sol. xiii. 11 (ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς ὁσίους τὸ ἔλεος κυρίου, καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς φοβουμένους αὐτόν τὸ ἔλεος αὐτοῦ), and with Lk i. 69 (Εὐλογητὸς κύριος ὁ θεὸς τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ, ὅτι

⁸¹ Ryle and James, *op. cit.*, p. 150.

⁸² See Ryle and James, *op. cit.*, pp. lx, lxii, and especially xc f., where the parallels are cited in detail. Cf. also Hillmann *Die Kindheitsgeschichte Jesu nach Lukas*, in *Jahrbuch für prot. Theol.*, xvii., 1891, pp. 201f.

ἐπεσκέψατο καὶ ἐποίησεν λύτρωσιν τῷ λαῷ αὐτοῦ) Ps. Sol. vi. 9 (εὐλογητὸς κύριος ὁ ποιῶν ἔλεον τοῖς ἀγαπῶσιν αὐτὸν ἐν ἀληθείᾳ).

Although direct parallels are few, a certain similarity in spirit and in ideas can hardly be denied. This is one more indication of the Palestinian and Semitic origin of the Lucan hymns; since the Psalms of Solomon reflect the events of the Palestinian invasion of Pompey, and were produced in Palestine at about the middle of the first century before Christ.⁸³ The date of the Greek translation is placed by Ryle and James between 40 B.C. and 40 A.D. There can be no question of direct literary dependence one way or the other between the Psalms of Solomon and the hymns of Lk i. In order to explain the parallels, Chase⁸⁴ suggests the hypothesis of common dependence upon the "Greek Jewish prayers of the Hellenistic Synagogues," and to support this hypothesis constructs an extended list of parallels between the Jewish prayers and the Lucan hymns.⁸⁵ Even granting that the Jewish prayers in question, which in their present form are later products,⁸⁶ are in substance earlier than the

⁸³ See Ryle and James, *op. cit.*, pp. xxxvii-xliv.

⁸⁴ The Lord's Prayer in the Early Church, in *Texts and Studies* edited by J. Armitage Robinson, Vol. i (1891), No. 3, pp. 128, note 1, 147-151.

⁸⁵ Cf. Spitta, *op. cit.*, p. 71, who (for a slightly different purpose) cites Schmone Esre 15. This passage, which is included in Chase's list, contains the expression "horn of salvation," (see Hirsch, Art. She-moneh 'Esreh in *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, vol. xi. p. 271), like the κέρασ σωτηρίας of the Benedictus (Lk i. 69). But κέρασ σωτηρίας occurs in the Septuagint, 2 Sam xxii. 3, and the expression in the Benedictus may be derived directly from that passage. Chase (*op. cit.*, p. 128, note 1) has noted the occurrence in 1 Clem. 48 of the phrase ἐν δσιότητι καὶ δικαιοσύνη exactly as it appears in the Benedictus (Lk i. 75). The passage in Clement is thought by Chase to be "closely connected with Jewish Prayers." But the phrase is so natural that the correspondence between Lk i. 75 and 1 Clem. 48 is hardly significant. In Wisdom ix. 3 (cited by Harnack, *Lukas der Arzt*, p. 145) ἐν δσιότητι καὶ δικαιοσύνη occurs exactly as in Luke and Clement. Compare also Deut ix. 5 οὐχὶ διὰ τὴν δικαιοσύνην σου οὐδὲ διὰ τὴν δσιότητα τῆς καρδίας σου (cited by Resch, *op. cit.*, pp. 108f.). Cf. Lightfoot's note on 2 Clem. i. 8, and the passages, sacred and profane, in Trench, *Synonyms of the New Testament*, §lxxxviii. See also Resch, *loc. cit.*

⁸⁶ See Schürer, *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes*, iii⁴, pp. 541 f.

Magnificat and Benedictus, the parallels are quite insufficient to establish direct dependence. The correspondence between the Lucan hymns and the Jewish Prayers, so far as it is verbal, is amply explained by common dependence upon the Old Testament.⁸⁷ However, although all thought of direct dependence must be dismissed, the similarity of thought and feeling between the hymns of Lk i-ii on the one hand, and the Palestinian Psalms of Solomon and certain Palestinian Jewish prayers on the other, furnishes subsidiary evidence for a primitive Jewish Christian origin of the Magnificat and the Benedictus.

The primary evidence is discovered simply by an examination of the two hymns themselves. It has already been observed that the Magnificat is made up altogether of Old Testament phrases. These phrases are derived from no one passage, but from the most various parts of the Jewish Scriptures. The Magnificat is no mere imitation, for example, of the song of Hannah in 1 Sam ii. 1-10. Yet the various elements are welded together into a song of perfect unity and great beauty, which preserves the parallelism of Hebrew poetry in its noblest form.⁸⁸ Harnack supposes that the result was accomplished by the conscious art

⁸⁷ This dependence upon the Old Testament is of course admitted by Chase; but he adds to this explanation of the parallels his suggestion "that the utterances of the Virgin Mary, Zacharias, and Simeon, at supreme crises of their lives were largely based on familiar forms of devotion." These familiar forms of devotion could only be Hebrew or Aramaic prayers (*op. cit.*, p. 150). Just below, however, Greek forms of the Jewish prayers are suggested as determining partly the wording of the Lucan hymns. Does Chase mean that the originals of the Lucan hymns were dependent upon Semitic prayers, and that the Greek translations of them are dependent upon Greek translations of the same or similar prayers? The hypothesis is not clearly defined; and indeed Chase himself has suggested it only with a query, and with great caution.

⁸⁸ Zorell (*Das Magnificat ein Kunstwerk hebräischer oder aramäischer Poesie?*, in *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie*, 29, 1905, pp. 754-758) has attempted to show that the poetic art of the Magnificat becomes fully clear only in a Semitic language. In a second note (*Zum Hymnus Magnificat, ibid.*, 30, 1906, pp. 360 f.), Zorell favors Hebrew over against Aramaic as the original language of the hymn.

of a Gentile. But it is no wonder that the vast majority of scholars and of simple readers are opposed to him. A single passage from the Old Testament might have been imitated; but that almost numberless passages should have been united without disclosing the joints, without making the slightest impression of artificiality, must always remain very improbable. The author of such a hymn must have lived in the atmosphere of the Old Testament, and must have been familiar from earliest childhood with its language. Only so could elements derived from so many sources have been incorporated without artificiality in a single poem. The synthesis must have been made in life, long before it was made in literary form.^{88a}

The Benedictus, it is true, is somewhat different in form—probably different enough to disprove at once Harnack's contention that the two hymns must have been composed by the same person. The parallelism is not quite so simple, there are more subordinate clauses and appositions and exegetical phrases.⁸⁹ The basic Old Testament passages are perhaps not quite so easily designated. But the Hebrew parallelism and the genuine Old Testament spirit are really almost as clear as in the case of the other hymn.⁹⁰

^{88a} T. D. Bernard (*The Songs of the Holy Nativity*, 1895, pp. 36 f.) aptly compares the modern use of Biblical phrases in prayer. That is not artificial imitation.

⁸⁹ Cf. Ladeuze, *op. cit.*, pp. 368 ff.

⁹⁰ Dalman (*op. cit.*, p. 183) regards ἐπισκέψατο . . . ἀνατολή ἐξ ὕψους (Benedictus, verse 78) as an argument against a Semitic original. The figure in ἀνατολή does not suit ἐπισκέψατο. A "rising" could, in Hebrew, be said to "visit," to "have regard to" men, only if "rising" had become a stereotyped term for a definite person. Now in Jer xxiii. 5, Zech. iii. 8, vi. 12 ἀνατολή is used in the Septuagint to translate שֶׁמֶץ = "shoot," "branch," which is a name of the Messiah. In Lk i. 78, starting from these passages, the Evangelist has used ἀνατολή simply as a designation of the Messiah. But as verse 79 shows, he has interpreted ἀνατολή as referring to light (helped by Is iv. 2, where הָיָה לְנֶפֶשׁ כִּשְׁמֶץ הָיָה לְנֶפֶשׁ is translated by the Septuagint ἐπὶ λάμψει ὁ θεός)—which would have been impossible if he had had recourse to the Hebrew, rather than merely to the Septuagint, of Jer. xxiii. 5, Zech. iii. 8, vi. 12. For שֶׁמֶץ = "shoot" of course has nothing to do with light. The argument is ingenious, but breaks down upon closer ex-

The form of the hymns, then, is genuinely Semitic.⁹¹ The Greek translation, like some of the better parts of the Septuagint, has preserved the spirit of the original, though without doing unnecessary violence to the idiom of the Greek language. But an even stronger argument for a primitive Palestinian origin is to be derived from the content of the hymns. There is nothing which can by any possibility be stretched into an allusion to Christian dogma, or even to the later history of Jesus. In the Magnificat there is no clear allusion even to the person of the Messiah.⁹² In the Benedictus the allusion is merely to salvation in the house of David. The Messianic king has come at last; but nothing more is known about Him than what was contained in Old Testament prophecy. The child John is thought of as a forerunner, not particularly of the Messiah, but of Jehovah. The coming salvation is conceived as applying not to the world, but primarily at least, to Israel.

amination. It is valid only if the author of Lk i. 78 had Jer xxiii. 5, Zech iii. 8, vi. 12 in mind. But surely it is more natural to think of such passages as Is lx. 1, Mal iii. 20 (iv. 2), where the verb ἀνατέλλω (though not the noun ἀνατολή) is used in the Septuagint, and where the figure of the rising of a heavenly body really is used in the Hebrew text to designate the coming salvation. The ἐπεσκέψατο . . . ἀνατολὴ ἐξ ὕψους is not such a bad mixture of metaphors, if ἀνατολὴ ἐξ ὕψους be regarded as putting the rising of the heavenly body for the heavenly body itself (that is the interpretation of Plummer, *in loc.*).

⁹¹ Ladeuze (*op. cit.*), while opposing Harnack's contention for Lucan authorship, supposes that Luke retouched the Magnificat here and there. That is possible, but cannot be proved.

⁹² Völter, (*Die evangelischen Erzählungen von den Geburt und Kindheit Jesu*, 1911, p. 23) calls attention to the fact that the closing words of the song of Hannah, καὶ ὑψώσει κέρας χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ, find no place in the Magnificat. If the Magnificat were composed to suit its present context on the basis of the song of Hannah, why should the author omit just those words in his Old Testament model, which would seem to apply most directly to the Christian Messiah? Hilgenfeld (*op. cit.*, p. 214, footnote) supposes that Lk. i. 55b is a Christian interpolation into an originally Jewish psalm. But at any rate it is entirely arbitrary to say that τῷ Ἀβραὰμ καὶ τῷ σπέρματι αὐτοῦ "has a Pauline ring (Gal iii. 16)". Gen xiii. 15 and similar passages are the common source for the phrase here and in Paul.

Israel is to be delivered from its insolent oppressors.⁹³ That the salvation is to be not merely political, but also moral and religious (Lk i. 75ff.) certainly does not transcend the bounds of Old Testament prophecy.⁹⁴ If Lk. i. 79 (ἐπιφάναι τοῖς ἐν σκότει καὶ σκιᾷ θανάτου καθημένοις) contains a hint of universalism, it is the universalism of Isaiah.⁹⁵

⁹³ Verses 71, 74 were certainly written before 70 A. D. After the destruction of Jerusalem, no Christian could possibly have regarded the Messianic salvation as a liberation of the Jewish people from its political enemies. All such hopes were crushed. Indeed, even long before 70, the Christian hope had certainly assumed another, and less political form. It is exceedingly doubtful whether, even by a Jewish Christian, these verses could have been written after the crucifixion. Cf. Loisy, *Les évangiles synoptiques*, i. p. 312, "Cet idéal n'a rien de paulinien, et même un judéo-chrétien n'aurait pu s'exprimer de la sorte après la destruction de Jérusalem."

⁹⁴ Cf. Hilgenfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 219: "Wird dieses Heil auch nicht blos in politische Befreiung, sondern auch in Frömmigkeit und Gerechtigkeit gesetzt, so führt doch nichts hinaus über die Gefühle eines Juden, wie der Verfasser des Ps. Sol. xvii, nur dass hier wohl die Geburt des Messias in dem Hause David's bereits vorausgesetzt wird."

⁹⁵ How Hilgenfeld (*op. cit.*, p. 219, footnote) can detect in Lk i. 73a the striking parallel with Heb vi. 13 by which he identifies the line as a deutero-Pauline addition of the redactor (like the Pauline addition in the Magnificat, Lk i. 55b), it is difficult to see. According to Hilgenfeld the second part of the psalm (verses 76-79), in marked contrast with the former part, is altogether Pauline. In verses 68-75 the political salvation had the chief emphasis. In those verses, the goal set for the people of God is a righteousness of works (verse 75); in verses 76-79, salvation is represented as consisting in forgiveness of sins through the grace of God—just the Pauline doctrine of justification. But the Pauline doctrine of justification had its roots in the Old Testament. Certainly the idea of the mercy of God and His gracious forgiveness of His erring people was nothing new. For verses 77, 78, compare Jer xxxi. 34: "and they shall teach no more every man his neighbor, and every man his brother, saying, Know Jehovah; for they shall all know me, from the least of them unto the greatest of them, saith Jehovah: for I will forgive their iniquity, and their sin will I remember no more." Hilgenfeld thinks the comparison is quite far-fetched, but gives no reason for his view. With regard to the psalm as a whole, it is quite true that verses 68-75 emphasize the political salvation, whereas verses 76-79 refer rather to the inward, individualistic, and ethical results of the Lord's coming; but that observation, instead of giving rise to critical division of the psalm into a Jewish and a Christian part, should simply be regarded as an instance of that intimate union between material and spiritual which

Against this overwhelming *prima facie* evidence, Harnack can urge only his linguistic argument. And that has been examined in detail and found insufficient. Harnack is much more confident about the hymns than about the rest of Lk i-ii. In the case of the Magnificat and the Benedictus, he would exclude altogether the possibility, which he leaves open as regards the rest of the narrative, that Luke was merely the translator of an Aramaic source. This decision should certainly be reversed. The linguistic examination of the hymns, which has just been concluded, when compared with a thorough examination of the rest of Lk i-ii, will, it is believed, show clearly that the evidence for Lucan authorship is far less convincing in the case of the Magnificat and Benedictus than in that of the rest of the narrative.⁹⁶ That the hymns were found by Luke in a Greek form is perhaps most probable; that they were translated by him from Hebrew or Aramaic is perfectly possible, but is by no means proved by the linguistic phenomena; that they were composed by him is practically out of the question.

But if Luke was not the author of the hymns, who was? According to Hillmann,⁹⁷ Hilgenfeld,⁹⁸ Spitta,⁹⁹ and others, the author (at least of the Magnificat) was not a Christian but a Jew. The Magnificat originally had nothing to do with the situation in which it is now placed; but was perhaps

characterizes all Old Testament prophecy. The Benedictus, in this respect as in others, belongs to the Old Testament. The new dispensation is close at hand; but it is still enveloped in prophetic dimness. Where else could such a psalm have arisen except just where the author of Lk i-ii has placed it? For the unity of the hymn, Lagrange (*Le Récit de l'Enfance de Jésus dans S. Luc. in Revue Biblique Trimestrielle*, iv, 1895, p. 168, note) appeals to the τοῦ δοῦναι of verses 74, 77, which indicates the same author in both parts.

⁹⁶ Cf. Feine, *op. cit.*, p. 20 ("Ich bin der Ansicht, dass die Bearbeitung des Lukas in den beiden Kapiteln nicht eine gleichartige ist. Eine verhältnismässig geringe ist sie jedenfalls in den Lobgesängen"), and Stanton, *op. cit.*, ii. pp. 223 ff. (where Harnack's argument about the hymns is singled out for particularly emphatic criticism).

⁹⁷ *Op. cit.*, pp. 197-213.

⁹⁸ *Op. cit.*, pp. 208-215, 217-221.

⁹⁹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 83-90.

intended merely to express an Israelitish woman's rejoicing over a happy turn in the history of the nation, for which her own sons had fought.¹⁰⁰ Some such view might seem to be suggested by what has been noticed above—the complete absence from the hymn of anything specifically Christian. In particular there is nothing in the Magnificat that points necessarily to the situation which is presupposed in the narrative. Indeed the *ταπείνωσις* of verse 48 (*ὅτι ἐπέβλεψεν ἐπὶ τὴν ταπείνωσιν τῆς δούλης αὐτοῦ*) seems to introduce a discordant note. Wherein consisted the "lowly estate" of Mary?¹⁰¹ The *ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν* of the same verse has also caused difficulty. Why should the blessing, which all generations are to render to Mary, be dated just from her visit to Elisabeth rather than from the conception, or from some important event like the resurrection? Again, it does not seem to suit the character of Mary, that she should speak a hymn of praise at all. Elsewhere in Luke i-ii she is carefully represented as silent and passive. The manner of introducing the hymn has also provoked objection. Elsewhere in the narrative, when similar poetical effusions are introduced, the presence of the Spirit is noted; here there is nothing but the simple *καὶ εἶπεν Μαριάμ* (verse 48). And what follows upon the hymn is declared to be equally unnatural: *ἔμεινεν δὲ Μαριάμ σὺν αὐτῇ κ. τ. λ.* If Mary has just been speaking, her name might be omitted; but the name of Elisabeth, who has not been mentioned for some time, should certainly have been expected instead of the pronoun *αὐτῇ*.

¹⁰⁰ Spitta, *op. cit.*, p. 89; cf. Hillmann, *op. cit.*, p. 200.

¹⁰¹ The difficulty becomes even more serious if *ταπείνωσις* means not merely "low estate," but "humiliation," that is, the descent from a higher estate into a lower. (Cf. Völter, *op. cit.*, p. 24; "Erniedrigung nicht Niedrigkeit"). How had Mary suffered such a fall? But the suffix *-σις* cannot always be interpreted so strictly (Cf. Wilkinson, *A Johannine Document in the First Chapter of St. Luke's Gospel*, p. 36). Wilkinson says further (p. 37): "The quotation *ὅτι ἐπέβλεψεν ἐπὶ τὴν ταπείνωσιν τῆς δούλης αὐτοῦ* quite naturally suits the feeling with which a native of Nazareth in Galilee would receive the news that she was destined to be the Mother of Messiah (Cf. St. John, i, 45)."

These difficulties have led a very considerable number of recent scholars (including Harnack) to suppose that the Magnificat was originally attributed not to Mary but to Elisabeth. This hypothesis is not quite devoid of textual support.¹⁰² And it apparently overcomes some of the difficulties. The ταπείνωσις of verse 38 now becomes intelligible. It is the humiliation (very acute to a Jewish woman) of childlessness, like the ταπείνωσις (1 Sam i. 11) of Hannah, whose prayer¹⁰³ offers such a close analogy to this very verse, and whose song¹⁰⁴ seems to have formed the chief model for the Magnificat itself. The ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν now dates the blessing rendered to Elisabeth from the first movement of the child in the womb. The reserve of Mary now remains unbroken. The presence of the Spirit in Elisabeth does not have to be mentioned in verse 46, because it has just been mentioned in verse 41. Finally the σὺν αὐτῇ of verse 56 now becomes natural, for Elisabeth has just been the speaker and does not need to be mentioned again by name.

Spitta,¹⁰⁵ while admitting the validity of some of the arguments which have been urged against supposing that the narrator intended Mary to be regarded as the author of the hymn, is on the other hand unable to satisfy himself with the Elisabeth hypothesis. The external evidence for the omission of the subject of εἶπεν or for reading Ἐλεισάβητ in verse 46 is insufficient. It remains more probable that Μαριάμ was first omitted by accident and then Ἐλεισάβητ wrongly supplied, than that an original Ἐλεισάβητ was changed to Μαριάμ in order to attribute the hymn to a more illustrious authoress. Furthermore, if the Magnificat as the song of the barren Elisabeth were an imitation of the song of the barren Hannah, the clear indication of the barrenness of the singer, which appears in the song of

¹⁰² See, for example, Harnack, in *Sitzungsberichte der königl. preuss. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*, 1900, pp. 538 f.

¹⁰³ ἂν ἐπιβλέπων ἐπιβλέψῃς (ἐπὶ) τὴν ταπείνωσιν τῆς δούλης σου.

¹⁰⁴ 1 Sam ii. 1-10.

¹⁰⁵ *Op. cit.*

Hannah (verse 5: ὅτι στεῖρα ἔτεκεν ἑπτά, καὶ ἡ πολλὴ ἐν τέκνοις ἡσθένησεν) would surely not have been omitted from the song of Elisabeth. The idea στεῖρα, being the very link which bound the two songs together, would not have been weakened into the general expression ταπείνωσις. Any other idea in Hannah's song would have been omitted more readily than that. Furthermore, the Elisabeth hypothesis explains no better than the Mary hypothesis the looseness with which the song is fitted into the narrative. If Elisabeth were regarded as the speaker, the hymn should have been inserted after Lk i. 25. At any rate, almost any place would have been more desirable for the insertion than the one which was actually chosen. In verses 42-45, Elisabeth has greeted Mary as the Mother of her Lord, Mary and her Son are here the all-important figures. Surely Elisabeth would not proceed at once to such an extravagant praise of her own son. And the σὺν αὐτῇ of verse 56 follows admirably upon verse 45; whereas according to Old Testament usage, if the psalm had intervened, the name Elisabeth must have been mentioned even if Elisabeth had been represented as the speaker. The phenomena can be explained only by the hypothesis that the hymn was foreign to the original story, and was inserted by the Evangelist redactor.¹⁰⁶

But what was the motive of the redactor in inserting the hymn? According to Spitta himself, the plan of the story requires Mary to keep silent. If that plan is so clear to modern scholars, even after it has been spoiled by the insertion of the Magnificat, it should have been still clearer to the Evangelist. He has respected it in other parts of the narrative; why should he upset it here? His action would be indeed conceivable if he accomplished anything by it. If the Magnificat contained Lucan or even Christian ideas which the Evangelist was anxious to impress upon his readers, then the insertion of the hymn might be explicable. But Spitta himself has insisted that this is not the case. Or if

¹⁰⁶ The Evangelist, according to Spitta, attributed the hymn not to Elisabeth but to Mary.

the Evangelist had chanced upon a Jewish hymn which suited the situation of Mary in some remarkable way, perhaps he might have seized the opportunity of embellishing his narrative. But that too is far from the fact.¹⁰⁷ The situation implied in the Magnificat itself can be defined only in general terms. How then came the hymn to be attributed to Mary? In general, it is unlikely that a Jewish hymn would be inserted in such a narrative by a Christian writer. Spitta points to similar cases in the Old Testament—for example, to the song of Hannah, which, he believes, was originally separate from its present context. But even granting the conclusions of criticism in the Old Testament passages cited by Spitta, the present case is somewhat different. There, Jewish writers are adopting Jewish hymns; here, a Christian writer is adopting a Jewish hymn, and adopting it, altogether without compulsion, for insertion in the most sacred part of his narrative. Would not the Christian consciousness of the newness of the Christian faith have prevented such disregard of the break between the old religion and the new?¹⁰⁸ If the Evangelist had revised the Jewish

¹⁰⁷ Spitta (*op. cit.*, p. 88) suggests that the Evangelist attributed the hymn to Mary and inserted it just at this point because of τῆς δούλης αὐτοῦ (v. 48), which corresponds with ἰδοὺ ἡ δούλη κυρίου (v. 38); and because of μακαριοῦσίν με, which corresponds with μακαρία ἡ πιστεύσασα, immediately preceding in verse 45. Such correspondences are easy to detect after the hymn has already been inserted, but they would hardly have occurred to anyone in reading a Jewish song. The Evangelist would have to be imagined as searching through a collection of Jewish songs in order to discover the one least unsuited to his purpose. What was the necessity of such a painful search? The narrative would have done very well without the Magnificat. Hillmann (*op. cit.*, p. 206) considers it more probable that it was not the final redactor of the Gospel who inserted the Magnificat, but that the final redactor found it already inserted in the Jewish Christian narrative (Lk i-ii). That does not change the case essentially. In some respects, it would have been harder for a Jewish Christian writer to insert a purely Jewish, non-Christian hymn into his narrative, than for a Gentile Christian to have done so.

¹⁰⁸ What Hillmann (*op. cit.*, pp. 204-206) says about other such purely Jewish elements in the New Testament is problematical. Even if they are really Jewish, they are made serviceable to Christian ideas. In the case of the Magnificat that would not be the case.

song so as to make a Christian hymn of it, then his employment of it would perhaps be in accordance with the habits of certain early Christian writers, though not of the author of Luke and Acts. But that he should insert a simple Jewish song without redaction seems altogether beyond the bounds of probability. If the Evangelist were unscrupulous enough to put a simple Jewish hymn into the mouth of Mary, he would have been unscrupulous enough to make the hymn express his own ideas.

The insertion by the Evangelist of this Jewish hymn could be explicable only if, when the Evangelist wrote, it was already regarded as a hymn of Mary. But that only pushes the problem a step further back. How came it to be attributed to Mary in the first place? If it were a Jewish song, it would very probably have been known as such by the primitive Jewish Christian community. How came that community then to put it into the mouth of the Mother of the Lord, at a time when she had probably not long been dead?^{108a}

The hypothesis, then, that the Magnificat was originally just a Jewish song, a foreign element inserted into the nativity narrative, must be rejected. Is it then simply a part of that narrative? Was it composed by the author of the narrative?¹⁰⁹ This hypothesis cannot be altogether ex-

^{108a} In a renewed discussion of the hymns of Lk i-ii in *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, vii, 1906, pp. 303-317, Spitta suggests (pp. 316 f.) that the hymns came into the hands of the Evangelist under the titles; *τῆς Μαρίας, τοῦ Ζαχαρίου, τοῦ Σμεῶνος*, perhaps as parts of an ancient Christian collection. Possibly these names designated the persons that appear in Lk i-ii. In that case the hymns had been attributed to them by primitive Christianity without any real intention to represent them as the poets. But it is also possible that the hymns really belonged originally to persons whose names stand in the titles. In that case those persons had nothing to do with the characters of the Christian narrative, but the chance similarity of name led the Evangelist to insert the hymns in their present positions. The former hypothesis is liable to the objections urged above in the text; the latter is valuable chiefly as indicating some appreciation, on the part of its author, of the difficulties which beset all less adventurous suggestions.

¹⁰⁹ That is, the author of Luke's source in Lk i-ii. It has been shown

cluded. The author may well have exercised the freedom of an ancient historian by attributing to his characters not words which they actually spoke, but words which in view of the situation they might fittingly have spoken. The objection to such a view arises from the absence from the hymn of Christian ideas. The narrative of the infancy could not well have been written before the resurrection, for there would scarcely have been a motive for its composition before the origin of the Christian community. But after the resurrection, a Christian writer in composing a hymn for the Mother of the Lord could hardly have failed to insert in it some more definite prophecy of the life or death or resurrection of the Son.¹¹⁰ Unless, indeed, he were writ-

above that the composition of the Magnificat by Luke himself is unlikely.

¹¹⁰ The force of this argument may be avoided by supposing that the Magnificat and Benedictus, in company with other parts of Lk i, belonged originally to non-Christian tradition about John the Baptist, which has later been united with an independent tradition about Jesus. This hypothesis, favored by Wilkinson (*op. cit.*) and Völter (*op. cit.*), with their elaborate documentary theories, has recently received the weighty support of Harnack (*Neue Untersuchungen zur Apostelgeschichte*, 1911, pp. 108-110), who, however, postulates simply independent oral traditions about John and Jesus respectively, not independent documents. Of course, if the Magnificat and Benedictus were composed by non-Christian disciples of John the Baptist, then the absence from them of Christian ideas no longer requires explanation. But the documentary theories of Wilkinson and Völter are quite inadequately supported; and the more cautious theory of Harnack (more cautious because, since traditions are less easily studied than documents, assertions about them can be made with greater impunity) is also incapable of proof. Of course, the theory that both hymns were originally Johannine and non-Christian presupposes the view that the Magnificat belonged originally to Elisabeth rather than to Mary. But that view, as Spitta (compare, however, his later article, pp. 311f.) has shown, is beset with difficulties. It might be held in a form which would suppose the Magnificat to have been transferred by the Christian historian from Elisabeth to Mary. But in view of the absence of specifically Christian ideas in the hymn, all motive for such transference was lacking. The most that can be admitted is that if the Magnificat is a non-Christian hymn, then it is more probably Johannine than simply Jewish. But that is simply the lesser of two improbabilities. At any rate, Harnack and Wilkinson could not possibly

ing before the death of Mary, when such an anachronism would have provoked contradiction. But in that case he would scarcely have ventured to compose the hymn at all. One hypothesis alone is proof against such objections, the hypothesis that the Magnificat is actually derived from an Aramaic song of Mary herself. To many modern readers, that may seem to be an adventurous suggestion. But it seems so only because Joseph and Mary and Zacharias and Elisabeth as they appear in the infancy narrative are thought to be legendary figures. If the narrative is based upon fact, then why may not the mother of Jesus have been endowed with the gift of simple poetry; so that under the immediate impression of her wonderful experience, she may have moulded her store of Scripture imagery, made part of her life from childhood, into this beautiful hymn of praise? Why must the mother of Jesus of Nazareth have been a nonentity? Why may she not have possessed gifts that fitted her in some measure for her inestimable privilege?¹¹¹

The hypothesis becomes more acceptable, when one examines again the manner in which the hymn is introduced. Modern criticism is perfectly correct in observing that the Magnificat is inserted rather loosely in the narrative. Perhaps the first impression of the reader is that the hymn is intended as an immediate answer of Mary to the greeting of Elisabeth. But that is by no means certain. There is no clear indication of it either in the introductory words

use their theory of Johannine tradition to explain the absence of Christian ideas in the hymns, because Harnack is quite positive that the hymns were composed by the Christian Luke, and Wilkinson places the Magnificat not in the Johannine but in the Christian part of Lk i.

¹¹¹ Compare the significant admission of Harnack, *Neue Untersuchungen zur Apostelgeschichte*, p. 109 (footnote): "Die Geschichten [i. e. the narrative of Jesus' birth and infancy that lies back of Lk i-ii] sind ihrem Charakter nach wesentlich einheitlich. Der Kreis, aus dem sie stammen, hatte für Maria hohe Verehrung und stellt sie bedeutungsvoll neben ihren Sohn. Von selbst hat sich das nicht gemacht, sondern das muss auf den Eindruck der Maria zurückgehen" Cf. also Resch, *op. cit.*, p. 102.

καὶ εἶπεν Μαριάμ or in the hymn itself.¹¹² It looks rather as though the hymn had circulated separately, as a hymn of Mary produced during the visit to Elisabeth, but without any indication of the exact day and hour when it was first spoken. It was then inserted in the narrative of the infancy at the proper place, as an answer to the greeting of Elisabeth; but without any indication whatever that it was spoken extemporaneously. It could be an answer to Elisabeth's greeting without being an immediate answer. The ridicule that has sometimes been vented upon the Lucan narrative, for attributing to a simple Jewish maiden an improvised speech of such perfect artistic form, is therefore misplaced. The sense of the narrative is not violated if the Magnificat be regarded as the product of Mary's meditation, during the three months in the hill country of Judah.¹¹³

Much of what has been said about the Magnificat could be repeated for the Benedictus. In the Benedictus, there is somewhat clearer indication of the intended occasion. καὶ σὺ δέ, παιδίον, κ. τ. λ. (Lk i. 76) points to a child, already born, as forerunner of the Messianic age. The hypo-

¹¹² Spitta (in *Theologische Abhandlungen für Holtzmann*, pp. 89f.) can even, without downright absurdity, venture the suggestion that perhaps the Evangelist thought of the Magnificat as arising not from the situation in the house of Elisabeth, but from the situation to which the immediately preceding words point—namely from the *τελείωσις* of the promises made to Mary.

¹¹³ The ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν of verse 48 is no insuperable objection to this view of the origin of the hymn. Cf. Resch *op. cit.*, p. 105: "In dem ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν bezeichnet übrigens das νῦν nicht nothwendiger Weise den gegenwärtigen eng begrenzten Augenblick, sondern, wie man aus jedem Lexicon ersehen kann, auch den ganzen gegenwärtigen Zeitraum, kann also nicht als Beweis dafür gelten, als ob hier ursprünglich ein anderer Context vorauszusetzen sei." Compare, however, Hilgenfeld, *op. cit.*, pp. 209 f. Ladeuze (*op. cit.*, p. 630) refers ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν (which on linguistic grounds he attributes to the Evangelist redactor) to verse 45. Mary sees in the μακαρία which Elisabeth has just pronounced the first of a long series of similar pronouncements. Resch (*op. cit.*, pp. 101 f.) suggests (what is perhaps less probable than the hypothesis suggested above in the text) that the hymn had gradually taken form in Mary's mind between the annunciation and the visit of Elisabeth, so that it could be spoken immediately as an answer to Elisabeth's greeting.

thesis of an originally non-Christian hymn, therefore, could here be made plausible at best only by regarding the hymn as having undergone Christian interpolation.¹¹⁴ But there is the same absence, as in the case of the Magnificat, of Christian ideas; and therefore the same difficulty of supposing that the hymn was composed for Zacharias by the author of the narrative. Moreover, the Benedictus is even more loosely inserted in the narrative than is the Magnificat. If the narrator had desired to put a hymn into the mouth of Zacharias he would surely have done so at Lk i. 64, when Zacharias regained his speech, and "spake, blessing God." Instead, the hymn is inserted in a general description (Lk i. 65-66, 80) of the growth of the child.¹¹⁵ Surely the most plausible explanation is that the hymn was circulated separately, and was delivered to the author of the narrative as a hymn of Zacharias, but without definite indication of the time when it was produced.¹¹⁶ Like the Magnificat, it may well have been the product of partly conscious, though inspired art.¹¹⁷

The absence, then, of Christian ideas in the Magnificat

¹¹⁴ As was done, for example, by Völter, obviously without sufficient evidence. Cf. also Hillmann (*op. cit.*, pp. 210-213) and Hilgenfeld (*op. cit.*, pp. 218-222), who suppose that the second part of the hymn is a Christian addition.

¹¹⁵ The suggestion of Wilkinson (*op. cit.*, pp. 17, 32) that the compiler of the narrative regarded the Benedictus as an answer to the question *Τί ἄρα τὸ παιδίον τοῦτο ἔσται;* (verse 66), is not plausible.

¹¹⁶ Cf. James Cooper, art. Benedictus in *Hastings' Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels*: "Zacharias may have had it [the psalm] ready for the long anticipated moment; may have recited it then and written it afterwards." That is possible, but there is no clear evidence in the narrative that the psalm was recited at the time of the circumcision of John.

¹¹⁷ Cf. Weiss, *Leben Jesu* i⁴. p. 222: "Auch dieser Lobgesang zeigt die Form der jüdischen Messiashoffnung noch in einer Ursprünglichkeit und Reinheit, die sie in der späteren christlichen Zeit nicht mehr bewahren, und die sie nur durch eine jener Zeit völlig fremde Kunstdichtung reproduziert werden konnte. Derselbe wird auch keineswegs von dem Erzähler zur Ausschmückung der Beschneidungsscene dem Zacharias in den Mund gelegt (i, 64), sondern nach dem Abschluss derselben als eine auf dem Gebirge Juda noch fortgepflanzte Erinnerung aus jener Zeit nachträglich mitgeteilt."

and Benedictus, the absence of reference to concrete facts in the life of Jesus, points to a time when the Messianic hope was still couched in the terms of Old Testament prophecy. On the other hand, the hymns are not simply Jewish hymns, composed in some unknown situation. If they were, they could not have found a place in Lk i-ii. They must, therefore, really have been produced by the persons to whom they are attributed in the narrative—and produced at a time when Old Testament prophecy had not yet been explained by its fulfilment. The fulfilment is at the door—it is no longer a thing of the dim future—but the fashion of it is still unknown. The promised King has arrived at last; but the manner of His reign must still be conjectured from the dim indications of prophecy. The Messiah is there; but He is still unknown. The hymns belong just where the Evangelist has placed them.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁸ Ladeuze (*op. cit.*, pp. 634 ff.) agrees with Spitta in supposing that the hymns were circulated separately before they found a place in their present context. But he rightly rejects the view that they were simply Jewish psalms. They were found by Luke as hymns in use in the Christian communities of Palestine. "Ne seraient ils pas simplement, l'un et l'autre, ce que détachés du contexte, ils semblent bien être, de véritables psaumes, des psaumes chrétiens prononcés, sous l'action de l'Esprit, dans les réunions des premières communautés de Palestine, et que S. Luc auraient trouvés, en même temps que son document judéo-chrétien sur l'Enfance du Christ?" (p. 643). Indeed, Ladeuze continues, Mary herself may have been the one who first sang the Magnificat among the believers. The concrete circumstances were already in the past. So she simply considered as a whole the work of which she had been the instrument. This view approaches rather closely the one which has been defended above. But it does not explain so well the absence from the hymn of definite reference to the later history. J. Weiss (in *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments* i⁹. pp. 418 f.) suggests that the Magnificat is a Jewish Christian psalm in which the Christian community gives thanks for the blessing which God has given it, verse 48 being an addition made in order to suit the song to its present context. The aorists in verses 51-54, are referred by Weiss to experiences of the Jewish Christian Church. The mighty act which God has performed (verse 51) is the sending of Christ. The "lowly" of verse 52 are the members of the Christian community, who strangely enough were chosen from among the humbler classes of the people. The mighty ones who have been cast down from their thrones, are, perhaps, Pilate and Herod, or also the persecutor Herod Agrippa,

If the hymns really were composed by Mary and by Zacharias, then they were composed in Hebrew or in Aramaic. The former hypothesis would explain best of all the Old Testament spirit and coloring of this poetry, the Old Testament parallelism, etc. And that the priest Zacharias, at least, should have composed such a hymn in the sacred language, rather than in the language of every-day life, is by no means impossible *a priori*, indeed in view of the judgments of experts with regard to the language of Palestine at the time of Christ, it might almost be pronounced the more probable alternative. That a woman (Mary) should have composed a hymn in Hebrew is less natural.¹¹⁹ If the hymns were composed in Aramaic (and in the case of the Magnificat, that is more probable), then the task of the translator was harder. He would not be able to use Septuagint renderings which had already been coined for the very expressions which lay before him, but would be forced to

who died a sudden death in 44 A. D. But these aorists can be understood perfectly well as examples of the vivid past tense of prophecy. It is perfectly true, as Weiss insists, that even so there must have been some special occasion for praising these acts of God just at the particular time when the poet was writing. This occasion, however, was present to Mary, at the time described in Lk i, as well as to a writer of the Jewish Christian church. After the marvellous experience which Mary had undergone at the annunciation, the coming of the Messiah was to the eye of faith already accomplished, and also (in principle) all the acts of God's grace which are celebrated in verses 51-54. Wilkinson (*op. cit.*, pp. 14 f., footnote 2), like J. Weiss, regards the Magnificat as "a hymn of the early Christian Church at Jerusalem". Only, Wilkinson is not obliged to regard verse 48 as an interpolation into the original hymn, for he supposes that the term *δοῦλη* was originally applied to the Christian community. Wilkinson and J. Weiss have at least entered a wholesome protest against current misconceptions of the hymn. The Magnificat is neither purely Jewish, nor is it of late Gentile Christian origin (see, for example, Weiss, *op. cit.*, p. 419: "es kann nicht verkannt werden, dass der Lobpreis dieses Psalms mehr einen judenchristlichen Standpunkt zeigt, als den eines heidenchristlichen Schriftstellers am Ende des ersten Jahrhunderts"). The former part of the Benedictus (verses 68-75) is also regarded by Weiss (*op. cit.*, p. 321) as the work of a Jewish Christian poet.

¹¹⁹ See Zahn, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament* i⁸, p. 4: "Also auch in den gesetzeseifrigen Familien verstanden die Frauen kein Hebräisch."

consider first (of course naturally, and almost unconsciously) the Old Testament Hebrew expressions which were equivalent to the Aramaic expressions of the hymns. In view of the similarity between Hebrew and Aramaic, the task would not be over-difficult, especially for one who was at home in the Hebrew, Aramaic and Greek Scriptures. The Aramaic hymns would have been composed by one who was familiar with the Old Testament passages. The suffusion of the Aramaic hymns with the thought and language of the Old Testament would not be unnatural; for the Scriptures in an Aramaic form became familiar to all through the oral translations in the synagogues.

Princeton.

J. GRESHAM MACHEN.



THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ENGLISH HYMN.*

I.

INTRODUCTORY: PSALMODY AND HYMNODY.

Popular religious song began to play its part, in different localities on the continent of Europe, with the first stirring of the new life in the Western Church that culminated in the Reformation of the XVIth century. With the gathering of the followers of John Hus in Bohemia into congregations, popular song became definitely congregational song. A vernacular hymnody of considerable proportions was created by the Hussites, and provided with suitable melodies. These hymns and tunes were embodied in books designed for the worshippers' hands rather than for the choir. Thus the congregational hymn-book of the modern type had its origin, and congregational singing of hymns took its place as a recognized part of the new cultus.

The foundations of Congregational Song as a church ordinance were therefore laid before the beginnings of the Reformation in Germany under Luther and in Switzerland under Calvin. Congregational Song must be regarded as the liturgical expression of principles common to Protestantism, that were embodied in Lutheranism and Calvinism alike. It is true that Congregational Song received a great impulse and development from Luther's hands, and that his work in establishing it claims the priority over Calvin's, upon whom Luther's success doubtless exercised marked influence. But Congregational Song cannot be rightly regarded as the distinctive possession of either system, nor can it be fairly claimed that the one reformer showed more zeal in establishing it than the other.

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There were, however, from the first, marked differences in the type of Congregational Song established by Luther in the Lutheran Church and that established by Calvin in the Reformed Church. These appeared not only in details of administration, but in the principles determining the contents of the song itself,—that is to say, in the subject matter of praise.

In reconstructing the church worship, Luther's eye lingered affectionately upon the cultus of the Latin Church, with a purpose of preserving so much of it as might be practicable under the new conditions. He regarded with especial favor the metrical hymns which for many centuries had made a part of the Daily Office. The utility of the metrical form was obvious. And the fact that hymns were free compositions, not confined to Scriptural paraphrase, constituted no objection to them in Luther's mind, but on the other hand suggested an opportunity of filling the hymn-form with the doctrines and inspirations of the new evangel. Luther adopted without hesitation the metrical hymn of human composition as a permanent element of his cultus. And he provided a German hymnody set to suitable tunes, and put the hymn books into the hands of the people. From the beginning, therefore, Lutheran song became Hymnody in the narrower sense of the word. This Lutheran Hymnody was based indiscriminately on Scripture, the Latin and Hussite hymns, popular songs, and the thoughts and feelings of the writer. And from Luther's time to the present the composition of German hymns has proceeded without a break, and their congregational use has continued to be a characteristic feature of the Lutheran cultus.

Calvin, on the other hand, in arranging a cultus for the Reformed Church, proposed to ignore the historical development of worship in the Latin Church, and to reinstate the simpler conditions of the primitive Church. He would have nothing in the cultus which could not claim the express authority of Scripture. He found Scriptural prece-

dent for the ordinance of Congregational Song, and saw the advantage of the metrical hymn-form. But the historic position of the hymn of human composition gave it no sanctity in his mind. It rather revealed how readily the Hymn adapted itself to the embodiment of erroneous doctrine. And without definitely deciding the question between prescribed Psalm singing and the Church's right to make its own hymns, he rested upon the proposition that there could be no better songs than the inspired songs of Scripture. He established the precedent of Church Song taken from the word of God itself, and practically confined to the canonical Psalms. The authority of Calvin's opinion and example was such that the usage of singing metrical Psalms as instituted at Geneva followed the spread of Calvinistic doctrine through the world as a recognized feature of church order. It became as characteristic of the Reformed cultus as hymn singing was of the Lutheran cultus.

The new Protestant Church Song was thus from the first divided into two separate streams, having Luther and Calvin as their respective sources, and differing in their actual contents. If we attempt to put this new Protestant song in relation to the service of praise in the historic cultus of the Latin Church which it replaced, it appears that the Lutheran Hymnody and the Reformed Psalmody agree in taking the service of praise out of the hands of the choir and restoring it to the congregation, and, with that end in view, in rendering it in the vernacular tongue. But the Lutheran Hymn must be regarded as the lineal successor of the Latin hymns of the *Breviary*, and as carrying forward the usage of hymn singing without a break. The Calvinistic Psalm, on the other hand, would have to be regarded as the lineal successor of the old church Psalmody,—that rendering of the Latin prose Psalter in stated portions which constituted the main feature of the Daily Office. It is true that the Calvinistic Psalm was run into the mould of the metrical hymn, and being a metrical formula of congregational praise, it may be called a hymn, in the larger sense of

that word. But in reality it marked a breach with the extra-Biblical Hymnody of the Western Church, and of the Hussites and Lutherans. It represented a popularization of the old church Psalmody that offered itself as a substitute for Hymnody, whether old or new. Henceforward, for two centuries and a half at least, the Hymn and the metrical Psalm stand side by side as representing clearly differentiated and even opposing systems of congregational Church Song.

The origins, development and decline of the practice of singing metrical vernacular Psalms in the Reformed Churches of various lands and tongues has been the subject of an earlier course of "Stone Lectures", under the title: "The Psalmody of the Reformed Churches".¹ The present course resumes the history of Congregational Song at the point where the former course left it, and deals with the subsequent stages, not in all the Psalm-singing Churches, but only in those speaking our English tongue. Now we require a word to mark the fact that the distinguishing feature of these later stages lies in the use of metrical hymns of human composition in the stead of metrical versions of canonical Psalms. And this necessity must be the justification of the title of the present course: "The Hymnody of the English-speaking Churches", even though the word "Hymnody" be objected to by purists as lacking the highest sanction. Philologically the word would seem to be the analogue of "Psalmody", and practically would seem to be a necessity to express the practice of singing hymns, and also the body of the hymns thus sung. The current employment of "Psalmody" to express these things simply ignores the history of two centuries, and obscures the facts: and when, as by some recent writers, the word "Psalmody" is actually applied to the body of the tunes to which hymns are sung, we seem to reach a point at which the article ex-

¹ Of these the first, upon the Psalmody of the Calvinistic Reformation, was printed with additions in *The Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society* for March, June, and September, 1909.

hibited and the label attached to it have no obvious connection. English writers in general, dealing specifically with hymns, have used the word "Hymnology" to describe the collective body of them or some part of it. Thus James King gathers the body of hymns in widest use in the Church of England under the title *Anglican Hymnology* (London, 1885); and, as if to prove that we have not misunderstood him, entitles his first chapter "History of Ancient and Mediaeval Hymnology". When Mr. Courthope tells us² that "Hymnology had its rise among the Nonconformists", and that "the style of English Hymnology reaches its highest level" in certain hymns of Dr. Watts, we may not question the lawfulness of his use of the terms but we must affirm its inexpediency. When we have gathered the blossoms of a meadow, we have not gathered its "botany" but its flowers, from which the brain and not the hand must construct their botany. Just so, dealing at present with the English Hymn and its liturgical use, it would appear that the word "Hymnody" describes the materials for our study; and that the word "Hymnology" expresses rather that ordered knowledge of hymns to which a study such as ours may be expected to contribute.

Which of these contrasting types of Church Song was to establish itself among English-speaking peoples was at first by no means clear. Both in England and Scotland the impulse behind the early Reformation movement was Lutheran, and in each country the leaders endeavored to forward the movement by means of religious songs of Lutheran type, and in part derived from Lutheran sources.

In England this effort was ineffective. A few years later than 1531 Myles Coverdale issued the first English hymn-book, his *Goostly Psalmes and Spirituall Songes drawen out of the the holy Scripture*, based on the Wittenberg hymn books. These dull songs made little appeal to the

² W. J. Courthope, *A History of English Poetry*, vol. v. London, 1905, pp. 328, 336.

people, and at the same time they were in advance of the limits of the scheme of reform then proposed by Henry VIII. In 1546 the King put the *Goostly Psalmes* among the prohibited books, and brought its ineffectual career to an end.

In Scotland, on the other hand, Coverdale's contemporaries, the Wedderburns, successfully introduced among the people hymns and songs based on Lutheran models. These played a great part in the development of the Reformation, down to and beyond the formal organization of the Reformed Church of Scotland.³

But in both countries the influence of Calvin prevailed over that of Luther, and determined among other things the form of Church Song. The Scottish Church, under Knox's influence, discarded the Wedderburn hymnody and adopted the Genevan system of metrical Psalmody into its constitution. The English Church adopted metrical Psalmody just as effectively, but less formally, as something not provided for in the Prayer Book system, but yet "allowed" to adhere to the margin of that system. Practically both English-speaking Churches entered upon an era of Psalm singing which was to be little disturbed through two centuries.

II.

THE HYMNS APPENDED TO THE METRICAL PSALTERS.

Neither in England nor Scotland was the Psalm book which was put into the hands of the people confined exclusively to canonical Psalms. In both countries the Psalter

³ We have regarded the Coverdale episode in England and that of the Wedderburns in Scotland as belonging logically and chronologically to the earlier movement to establish Psalmody rather than to the later movement to establish Hymnody. Their fuller treatment fell therefore within the scope of the former course of Stone Lectures. There is an accessible reprint of Coverdale's book (without the music) in the Parker Society's edition of his *Remains* (Cambridge 1846). Of the Wedderburn book there is David Laing's annotated reprint (Edinburgh, 1868), and Dr. A. F. Mitchell's more elaborate edition of *The Gude and Godlie Ballatis* for the Scottish Text Society (1897). See also his *The Wedderburns and their work* (Edinburgh and London, 1867).

included not only a complete metrical version of the Psalms, but appended thereto a group, comparatively small, of metrical paraphrases and hymns. Both the English and Scottish Psalters had a common origin in the work of the English exiles at Geneva, who found their inspiration in the Psalm singing established there by Calvin, and their model in his Psalm book containing the French versions of Clement Marot and Theodore Beza. But even at Geneva, the fountain head of metrical Psalmody, the addition to Psalms was not absolutely exclusive, although in the final form of the *Genevan Psalter* the outside material was very slight, consisting only of the Commandments and *Nunc dimittis* versified and two metrical graces at meals. There was thus no departure from Genevan precedent made by including hymns in the English and Scottish Psalters; but in each case the appended hymns were more numerous and more diverse, and demand examination especially as to the actual significance of their appearance there.

1st. *The Hymns appended to the English Psalter.*

From the 1558 edition of the *Psalms* of the exiles at Geneva as their common source, diverged two lines of preparation which culminate in the respective Psalters of the English and Scottish Churches. The English Psalter, commonly called *Sternhold and Hopkins*, appeared in its completed form from the press of John Day at London, with a title not without significance for our inquiry: *The whole Booke of Psalmes, collected into Englysh metre by T. Starnhold, I. Hopkins & others: conferred with the Ebrue, with apt Notes to sing them withal, Faithfully perused and allowed according to thordre appointed in the Quenes maiesties Iniunctions. Very mete to be used of all sortes of people priuately for their solace & comfort: laying apart all vngodly Songes and Ballades, which tende only to the norishing of vyce, and corrupting of youth.* [Followed by two texts and imprint]. An. 1562.

Included in this Psalter, sharing such authorization as it

had, are two groups of metrical hymns, one immediately preceding and one following the "PSALMS OF DAVID". In the preliminary edition of 1561 they had numbered seventeen, in the completed edition of 1562 they number nineteen, and in editions immediately succeeding they attain a total of twenty-three pieces. In the edition of 1562 the hymns are as follows:

Before the Psalms—

1. *Veni Creator*. "Come Holy Ghost, eternal God."
- [*Venite*. In 1562 there is only a reference to Ps. 95 as serving for the *Venite* of 1561.]
2. *Te Deum*. "We praise thee God."
3. *Benedicite*. "O all ye works of God the lord."
4. *Benedictus*. "The only lorde of Israel."
5. *Magnificat*. "My soule doth magnifye the Lord."
6. *Nunc dimittis*. "O Lord be cause my harts desire."
7. *Creed of Athanasius*. "What man soeuer he be that."
8. *Lamentation of a Sinner*. "O Lord turn not away thy face."
9. *Humble Sute of the Sinner*. "O Lorde of whom I do depend."
10. *Lord's Prayer* (D. C. M.). "Our father which in heauen art."
11. *Commandments* (D. C. M.). "Hark Israel, and what I say."

After the Psalms—

1. *Commandments* (L. M.). "Attend my people and geue eare": followed by "A Prayer".
2. *Lord's Prayer* (8. 8. 8. 8. 8. 8.). "Our father which in heauen art."
3. *XII Articles of the Faith*. "All my belief, and confidence."
4. *A Prayer before Sermon*. "Come holie spirit the God of might."
5. *Da pacem*. "Give peace in these our daies O Lord."
6. *The Lamentation*. "O Lord in thee is all my trust."
7. *Thanksgiving after receiving the Lord's Supper*. "The Lord be thanked for his gifts."
8. "Preserue us Lord by thy deare word."

In succeeding editions the *Venite* of 1561 ("O come and let us now reioyce") was restored and the following additional hymns appeared:

1. *Before Morning Prayer*. "Prayse the Lord, O ye Gentiles all."
2. *Before Evening Prayer*. "Behold now geue heede such as be."
3. *Complaint of a Sinner*. "Where righteousnesse doth say."

All but two of the hymns of 1562 have their "proper tunes" provided: in the remaining cases suitable tunes are indicated. We have thus before us what seems at first sight a not inconsiderable provision for congregational use in the Church of England of hymns as distinguished from

Psalms. But there are some considerations tending to modify this impression. It was, in the first place, a familiar device at the time to cast in metrical form, and set to music, doctrinal or other material for use by the people. This was partly with a view to furnish religious songs and partly to assist the memory to retain things regarded as desirable for the people to know, and was independent of the question of what should be sung in church. There was, in the second place, no hesitation on the part of the compilers of the early Psalters in joining to the Psalm versions matter intended for such private use. Witness the graces for the family meal in the *Genevan Psalter*, the treatise on music and "A Forme of Prayer to bee vsed in priuate houses euery Morning and Euening" in the English Psalter of 1562. And, in the third place, it appears from the title pages of the English Psalter that it was intended for use outside of church. The title of the editions of 1561-1562 contained the words: "Very mete to be vsed of all sorts of people priuately." It was not until 1564 that the title page of the Psalter claimed authorization for its use in church.⁴

It is then obvious that the presence of these hymns in the English Psalter does not of itself imply, either in intention or in fact, their use in the church services. As to the

⁴The statement of Dr. Julian, in his *Dictionary of Hymnology*, p. 1540, that "the *Use* was, from 1561 to 1566, for *Private Use* only", is offset by the title of an apparently unrecorded edition of 1564 in the writer's possession. It was "printed by Iohn Windet for the Assignes of Richard Day, 1564". The title reads: *The Whole Booke of Psalmes, . . . Set foorth and allowed to bee song in all Churches, of all the people together before and after Morning and Evening praier: as also before and after Sermons, and moreouer in priuate houses . . .* But in this matter the opinion of many since was voiced by George Wither in his pamphlet, *The Scholar's Purgatory* (1624): "that those metrical Psalms were never commanded to be used in divine service, or in our public congregations, by any canon or ecclesiastical constitution, though many of the vulgar be of that opinion. But whatsoever the Stationers do in their title page pretend to that purpose, they being first allowed for private devotion only, crept into public use by toleration rather than by command."

actual significance of their inclusion one must form his own conclusions.

Turning first to the prefixed hymns, the Prayer Book complexion of the whole group is at once apparent. If we regard the "Lamentation" and "Humble Sute" as representing the elements of Confession of Sin and Prayer for Pardon and Peace incorporated in the Order for Daily Prayer in 1552, then the entire group represents *The Book of Common Prayer* in the same way that the paraphrases of Psalms represent the canonical *Book of Psalms*. We judge it to be the work of the mediating party who wished to remove the Genevan taint from the transplanted Psalmody by mingling Prayer Book materials with the Scriptural songs of the people. They may have found their precedent in the Latin Psalters of the old Church, in which canticles and the creed and Lord's Prayer were added to the Psalter proper. That these paraphrases of Prayer Book materials were intended for use in church services seems unlikely from the point of view here suggested. There is no evidence that they were so used until the Puritans of a later period ventured to substitute these metrical versions for the corresponding prose passages in the required Prayer Book service; their aim being to avoid the necessity of chanting them.

Turning to the affixed hymns the atmosphere is notably different, and is plainly that of Strassburg, with its Lutheran hymnody. The version of the Lord's Prayer (by Dr. Cox) is a rendering of Luther's metrical version and is set to his tune. The "Da Pacem" is a close translation of Wolfgang Capito's German hymn ("Gieb Fried zu unser Zeit, O Herr"), made by Edmund Grindal, a Marian exile at Strassburg. The last hymn of 1562 is a rendering by Wisdom of Luther's famous prayer for aid against Turk and infidel, and is set to his tune. We judge therefore that the later group of hymns reflects the influence of a party which in exile abroad had become familiar with Lutheran hymnody and who favored some recognition of hymns at home;

and moreover that a place in the Psalter was gained for these few hymns in expectation or at least hope of getting them sung in the church services. In favor of this view we note the rubrics of No. 4, "to bee sung before the sermon", and of two of the added hymns, "to bee sung before Morning prayer", "to bee sung before Evening prayer". All three correspond precisely with the church uses designated on the title-page of the 1564 edition already quoted. As regards the expectation of church use for these hymns we can say that it was realized in the case of the Communion Thanksgiving. George Wither, writing in 1623, says:⁵ "We have a custom among us, that, during the time of administering the blessed Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, there is some Psalm or hymn sung, the better to keep the thoughts of the Communicants from wandering after vain objects." This was the hymn that shared such employment with Psalms. It was sung while seated by the portion of the congregation which had already communicated or which awaited their turn to communicate, and its great length (124 lines) suggests that such use was foreseen. But such use was disassociated from the actual administration of the Sacrament and in a sense semi-private; and it may well be that some parishes made such use of this particular hymn which otherwise admitted Psalms alone to the church services.

On the whole these hymns present no more than an insignificant exception to the statement that the Church of England became a Psalm singing church. At the first they proved no impediment to the advancing tide of Psalmody. There was no time when their voice could be distinguished from the volume of Psalmody that filled the land. They were not destined to form the nucleus of an ultimate Hymnal nor to point the way toward it. As time passed they tended to decrease. In a Psalter of 1612 we mark

⁵ *The Hymnes and Songs of the Church*, ed. 1623, p. 63: Farr's reprint, p. 271. Here the spelling of the quotation is modernized for convenience's sake.

the first step, where the prefixed hymns are removed to the back of the book. Next appeared a tendency to reduce their number. In a London edition of 1713, bound up with the Prayer Book, they number only sixteen: in a Cambridge University Press edition of 1737, only thirteen. From the Baskerville edition of 1762 they have disappeared altogether. In later movements to introduce hymns into church worship the hymns of the early Psalter played but an insignificant part.

2nd. *The Hymns Appended to the Scottish Psalter.*

The first edition of the Psalm book for the Scottish Church appeared in 1564 and 1565 as a constituent part (without separate title-page) of *The Forme of Prayers and Ministration of the Sacraments &c vsed in the English Church at Geneua, approued and receiued by the Church of Scotland, whereunto besydes that was in the former bokes, are also added sondrie other prayers, with the whole Psalmes of Dauid in English meter* . . . (Edinburgh: Robert Lekpreuick).⁶ Unlike the "former bokes" at Geneva, and the English Psalter of two years before, the Psalms were unaccompanied by paraphrases or hymns.

Oddly enough the song first appended to the Scottish Psalter was a mere love song, appearing in an unlicensed edition of 1568; an impertinent intrusion by its printer, Thomas Bassandyne, which invoked the intervention of the General Assembly, who ordered him to call in the copies sold, and to "delete the said baudie song out of the end of the psalm books".⁷

⁶ Two copies that include the "Psalmes" are extant, one at Oxford, one at Cambridge. For facsimile of title-page see Neil Livingston, *The Scottish Metrical Psalter of A. D. 1635. Reprinted . . . and illustrated by dissertations, &c.*, folio, Glasgow, 1864, p. 72; and, for description of contents, pp. 13, 27 ff., and appendix. For a collation, see Dickson and Edmond, *Annals of Scottish Printing*, Cambridge, 1890, pp. 220 ff.

⁷ No copy has survived. For the action of the Assembly see the Maitland Club ed. of *The Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland*, part i, pp. 125, 126. For the recently recovered text of the "Baudie

At the same time Bassandyne was ordered to abstain from printing anything "without licence of the Supreme Magistrate, and revising of sick things as pertain to religion be some of the Kirk appointed for that purpose". But in 1575 Bassandyne again printed the Psalter as *The CL. Psalms of David in English Metre. With the Forme of Prayers &c.*⁸ In this (apparently without objection from the Assembly) four hymns were appended to the Psalms: The Commandments (with the "Prayer" following), the Lord's Prayer (Cox), the Lamentation ("O Lord, in Thee is all my trust") and *Veni Creator*. And thereafter the inclusion of some hymns was the rule rather than the exception in the Scottish Psalter. In the edition of 1595 there were ten, all evidently copied from the English Psalter. In 1615 appeared "The Song of Moses", a Scottish paraphrase of Deuteronomy xxxii in forty-three D. C. M. stanzas, divided into six parts for singing "to the tune of the Third Psalm". It was placed before the title page of the Psalms, with a note by the printer (Andro Hart), explaining why he had inserted it and recommending it to the church.⁹ In the edition of 1635 the hymns attained a maximum of thirteen; eleven selected from the English Psalter, two of Scottish origin;—the Song of Moses, and "A Spiritual Song", beginning "What greater wealth than a contented minde?"

The whole list thus appearing is as follows:—

1. *Commandments* (L. M.). "Attend my people": with the "Prayer".

Song" ("Welcume Fortoun, welcum againe",) see Charles G. McCrie, *The Public Worship of Presbyterian Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1892, appendix H.

⁸ No complete copy survives, but the late D. Laing's copy and one at the Bodleian, Oxford, contain the Psalms. For a collation of the latter, see Dickson and Edmond, *op. cit.* pp. 309 ff., and for description of contents see Livingston, *ut supra*.

⁹ A godly brother, to whom he announced his intention of reprinting the Psalter, expressed surprise that the Song of Moses had never found place in earlier editions. Hart thereupon requested him to prepare a metrical version for insertion in the forthcoming edition. The song is signed "I. M.", and its author has been identified as James Melville, nephew of Andrew and minister of Kilrenny.

2. *Lord's Prayer* (Cox's).
3. *Veni Creator*.
4. *Nunc dimittis*.
5. *XII Articles*.
6. *The Humble Sute*. "O Lord, on whom I do depend."
7. *The Lamentation*. "O Lord, turn not."
8. *The Complaint*. "Where righteousness doth say."
9. *Magnificat*.
10. *The Lamentation*. "O Lord, in thee."
11. *The Song of Moses*.
12. *Thanksgiving after the Lord's Supper*.
13. *A Spirituall Song*.

The questions that concern us are whether these appended hymns were authorized, and, if so, for use in church worship, and whether by making use of them the Church of Scotland was at first, and to that extent, a hymn singing church.

No express authorization of them has been shown. On the other hand their appearance was known to the Assemblies, and not rebuked as the appearance of "Welcume Fortoun" had been. We must then say that the hymns were tacitly allowed. Such careful students as Dr. Horatius Bonar and Dr. Sprott have assumed as a matter of course that this action or lack of action on the part of the Assembly was with a view to the church use of the hymns in public worship.¹⁰ This assumption involves the position that miscellaneous hymn singing was so much a matter of common consent among Scottish reformers that the appearing of a group of hymns for church worship along with the Psalms was not a thing requiring action or even notice by the church authorities. For this there is no evidence in their writings or recorded practice or in the rubrics of the *Common Order*. The probabilities seem to point in a direction precisely op-

¹⁰ Dr. Bonar in *Catechisms of the Scottish Reformation* (London, 1860), p. 302: Dr. Sprott in *The Worship and Offices of the Church of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1882), p. 33. They are answered with warmth by D. Hay Fleming in *The Hymnology of the Scottish Reformation* (Reprinted from "Original Secession Magazine"), 1884. It seems to be the rule in Scotland that those favoring the use of hymns see clearly that the church has always allowed them, while those opposing hymns are concerned to maintain what was until lately the church's unvarying practice.

posite. They suggest that the addition of hymns was made so easily simply because their use in church worship was not proposed, and because the singing of spiritual songs by the people or their use as means for instructing the young was acceptable to all. That no one of these hymns was ever used in any Scottish church cannot be affirmed, but if so there is no known record of it. But that the appendix of hymns did not constitute a church hymn book, and that the hymns were not used continuously or generally can be affirmed with confidence, and proved by reference to successive editions of the Psalter itself. No hymns are known to have been appended till 1575, when they number four. In the editions of 1587, 1594 and 1595, they number ten, In 1599 there is but one (the "Lamentation"). In 1602 there are again ten: in one edition of 1611 three, and in another, a small and cheap edition for general use, there are none at all. In 1615 there are ten affixed, and one prefixed on the printer's own motion. In 1629 there is only one hymn. In 1635 there are thirteen, and the "Song" prefixed by the printer in 1615 appears in the appendage with the earlier hymns. The editions of the Scottish Psalter were numerous, in order that the people might have their own copies; the days of 'lining out the Psalm' were not yet;¹¹ and plainly the Psalters in their hands did not furnish the materials for the congregational singing of the hymns.

We do not know under what auspices the hymns were added to the Scottish Psalters. It has already become evident that the printers exercised some liberty in this connection, and that the appendage to the English Psalter furnished a motive and also the materials. We can only surmise the reasons that guided the selection of English material. The apocryphal *Benedicite*, the *Te Deum* and Creed of Athanasius, would be regarded as inexpedient; the alternative Commandments and Lord's Prayer, and the *Venite* ("see Psalm 95") as surplusage; the other omitted hymns as perhaps unnecessary or unattractive.

¹¹ Cf. Livingston, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

In Scotland as in England the hymns appended to the Psalter failed to furnish the nucleus of a future hymn book. The increase of their number in 1635 did not imply a movement to make larger use of them in worship, and when the *Psalms of David in Meeter* were prepared in 1649-50 there seems to have been no thought given to reprinting the earlier hymns but rather to the question of adding Scriptural paraphrases in the strict sense.

As the result of our examination we are compelled to conclude that in spite of appearances the hymns appended to the English and Scottish Psalters must be regarded as an episode, and one of no great significance, in the history of Psalmody rather than as a link in the continuity of the development of the English Hymn. Their relation to church worship is indeterminate. They did not become the nucleus of a Hymnal. They were hardly even prophetic of the lines on which the Hymn developed; for the demand for hymns grew out of long experience in singing metrical Psalms, and not out of any satisfaction in the use of appended hymns.

III.

THE FINAL EXCLUSION OF THE OLD CHURCH HYMNODY.

The most striking feature of the hymns appended to the English and Scottish Psalters is the appearance in each of a translation of the old Latin church hymn, *Veni Creator Spiritus*, which was in the *Breviary* and had also a place of special honor in the *Pontifical*. It suggests at first sight a purpose of giving the old church Hymnody some recognition along with the new Psalmody, but it had in reality no such significance. In the case of Scotland the appearance of the hymn had probably no significance one way or the other. Under Knox's influence the Genevan model had been transported to Scotland bodily, and there was no question among the reformers of continuing the Latin Hymnody or any other features of the old church services. Whoever chose the hymns for the Scottish Psalter found this one in the English Psalter, chose it and inserted it for reasons we

do not know and for uses we can only surmise. But in England the situation was different. The course taken by the Reformation there left ample opportunities for the introduction of an English Hymnody on the lines of the old Latin Hymnody so familiar and so dear to many; of which opportunities the occasion of adding an appendix of hymns to the metrical Psalter may be regarded as the last. What the appearance of the *Veni Creator* alone in this appendix really signifies is not a purpose to embrace this final opportunity, but rather an acquiescence in a situation in which, with the single exception of *Veni Creator*, the whole area of the Latin Hymnody had been excluded from the worship of the Reformed Church of England. And, before taking up the lines upon which an English Hymnody did develop, its failure to develop on the line that seems most natural and inviting demands some consideration.

There had been from the very first the promise of such development through the simple process of turning the Latin hymns into English; a process happening to be consistent with the scope and direction of the plans of Henry VIII. Apart from the efforts of reformers the Church had already shown some purpose of meeting the desire of the laity for a more intelligent part in worship. This showed itself first in the *Horae* or *Primer*, the layman's book of private devotion, whether at home or in church; containing offices for the hours, commandments, creed, litany, the penitential and other Psalms, with various prayers and materials for devotion and sometimes for instruction; and including in the offices the hymns proper to the time. The Ms. *Sarum Primer* of the beginning of the 15th century, is already wholly in English and the hymns are translated into prose.¹² In printed editions of Sarum Primers from 1538, the hymns are versified in a rude way, not apparently for singing and certainly not for singing in church. From the Sarum Primers grew a modified and unauthorized type, of which

¹² Reprinted in Maskell's *Monumenta Ritualia Ecclesiae Anglicanae*, vol. iii.

Marshall's Primer of c. 1534 is the earliest survivor.¹³ The hand of reform is disclosed by the omission of hymns to the Virgin; the Latin hymns of the *Sarum Primer* are rejected, and new hymns are furnished on the Latin model: another effort by an unknown hand toward supplying a Reformed Hymnody, and paralleling in a small way that of Coverdale.

By 1539 Henry VIII takes the *Primer* in hand, and through Bishop Hilsey issues one based on the *Sarum*.¹⁴ In 1545 appeared the first of many editions of *The Primer set furth by the kinge's maiestie & his Clergie, to be taught lerned, and red; & none other to be used thorowout all his Dominions*.¹⁵ By royal injunction prefixed, this book became the sole authorized primer; the selling, use or teaching of any of the earlier ones being prohibited.

The hymns of this *King's Primer* are a fresh selection, taken with one exception from the *Sarum Breviary*. They mark a great advance over their predecessors in the primers and in Coverdale: the sweetness of their spiritual tone and the excellence of their verse are still appealing. In this book our Long Metre takes its place as the English equivalent of the Iambic Dimeter of the Ambrosian hymns; and the Trochaic 7s is also successfully introduced.

Before the publication of this *Primer* for private use, the first step had already been taken toward introducing the vernacular into the public worship of the church. The Convocation of 1542 ordered that twice on every Sunday and holy day a chapter of the Bible in English should be read to the people; and in 1544 was set forth a "Litany with suffrages" in English, to be used in processions.¹⁶ Cranmer had also made a beginning in providing English versions of the hymns used in the public services. A letter he sent to the King a few months after the publication of the

¹³ E. Hoskins, *Sarum and York Primers, with Kindred Books*, London, 1901 No. 115, and see pp. 193 ff.

¹⁴ Hoskins, No. 142 and see pp. 225 ff.

¹⁵ The title is from a copy of the edition of 1546 (xvii August).

¹⁶ *Private Prayers of Queen Elizabeth*. Parker Society ed: Appendix.

English Litany, encloses, with other translations and music, a draft of a version of the hymn *Salve festa dies* set to the Gregorian melody. "I have travailed", Cranmer says, "to make the verses in English . . . I made them only for a proof to see how English would do in song. But, by cause mine English verses want the grace and facility that I would wish they had, your majesty may cause some other to make them again, that can do the same in more pleasant English and phrase."¹⁷

There is no evidence that any use was made of Cranmer's hymn or of his suggestion to employ a more cunning hand. In fact during the remainder of Henry's reign no further steps were taken toward vernacular services.

But when under Edward VI the way was opened to introduce English service books, neither the First Prayer Book of 1549 nor the Second of 1552, contained any of the hymns which were an essential part of the offices from which the Prayer Book Services were framed, except a rendering of the *Veni Creator Spiritus* in the ordinal of 1550. The little that is known of the genesis of the First Prayer Book throws scanty light on this omission. The recently printed Ms. of Cranmer's two drafts of his successive schemes of liturgical revision bears no dates.¹⁸ The first is the scheme of a revised Breviary, containing offices for all the canonical hours, in the Latin language throughout, and based on the Reformed Breviary of Cardinal Quignon.¹⁹ The second draft seems to belong to the early years of Edward VI's reign, and marks the transition from the "Divine Office" of the ancient Church to the "Morning and Evening Prayer" of the Church of England. The 'Hours' are reduced to two, Matins and Vespers, and the Lord's Prayer and Lessons are in English. Of the Latin hymns of the Breviaries, twenty-six are retained, fourteen being assigned to the days

¹⁷ *Misc. Writings and Letters of Cranmer*. Parker Soc. ed., p. 412.

¹⁸ First printed in Gasquet and Bishop, *Edward VI and the Book of Common Prayer*, London 1890.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 37.

of the week, twelve to the seasons of the Church year.²⁰ For some reason Cranmer did not use the Breviaries as the sources of his hymns, but took them from the *Elucidatorium Ecclesiasticum* of Clichtoveus, one of the earliest collectors of hymns, following his text.²¹ Four of the hymns had never appeared in an English office book, and of these one is by Clichtoveus himself.²² In the preface of his draft Cranmer says: "We have left only a few hymns which appeared to be more ancient and more beautiful than the rest."²³ In thus dealing with the hymns Cranmer was following the example of Quignon, and to some extent his preface here follows the words of Quignon's. The preface to the First Prayer Book of Edward VI is little more than a translation of the preface to this second of Cranmer's drafts; but as there are no Office hymns in the Prayer Book the reference to them just quoted of course drops out.²⁴

Cranmer's draft shows a purpose of reducing the number of the hymns in use, and a preference for the ancient hymns as against those more recently added to the Breviaries. But it does not explain why in turning his services into English he should have omitted metrical hymns altogether from his Prayer Book. And no adequate explanation of this singular omission has ever yet been offered. Mr. Frere, in his *New History of the Book of Common Prayer*, says that Cranmer omitted the hymns because he had "failed in his attempts to reproduce them in English dress, as he had planned to do".²⁵ The two difficulties in the way of accepting this explanation are: *1st* that some English versions were already at hand in the *King's Primer*, which were themselves available and whose existence argues

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 353 ff. and 334.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 354 and note.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 37.

²⁴ See the two prefaces in parallel columns in Gasquet and Bishop, Appendix iii.

²⁵ London 1901, pp. 309 f.

that a capacity to translate other hymns was not lacking.²⁶ and that English hymns not only failed to appear in the Prayer Book, but they actually disappeared from the new *Primer* of 1553, which is based on *The Book of Common Prayer*, and contains no metrical hymns, unless rhymed graces be so called.²⁷ This exclusion of hymns in themselves so good from the place already gained in the *Primer* seems to imply that the omission of hymns from the Prayer Book arose from a change of sentiment or judgment in regard to them, with which even the new *Primer* had to accord. In the vacillation of Cranmer's mind between Lutheranism and Calvinism, his omission of the hymns from the Prayer Book is *a priori* explicable as due to either influence. He might have argued that the true place of the hymn was not in the structure of the Offices, where it would be rendered by the choir, but in a hymn-book, where it could be sung by the people, according to the Lutheran precedent. But the absence of hymns from the *Primer* tells against this explanation. He might, on the other hand, have been sufficiently under the influence of his Calvinistic advisers to feel that hymns of human composition had but a doubtful place in public worship. There are indications in the *Zurich Letters* confirming such a

²⁶ The following may serve as a specimen of these hymns. It is from the edition of August 17, 1546:—

"Felowe of thy fathers lyght,
Lyght of light and day most bryght,
Christ that chaseth away nyghte,
Ayde vs for to pray aright.

Driue out darkness, from our mindes,
Driue away the flocke of fendes,
Drousynes, take from our eyes,
That from slouth we may aryse.

Christ vouchsafe mercy to geue,
To vs all that do beleue,
Let it profit vs that pray
All that we do syng or say. Amen".

²⁷ *Liturgies of Edward VI.* Parker Soc. ed., pp. 357-384.

supposition; and of the two explanations of Cranmer's change of sentiment it is the more probable.

Whatever Cranmer's motives were, his action, together with the growing predilection of the people for metrical Psalms, proved decisive in excluding the old church hymns from the worship of the Church of England. Hymns appeared again in Elizabeth's *Primer* of 1559; and in the 49th of her Injunctions of that year it was permitted "that in the beginning or in the end of the Common Prayers, either at morning or evening, there may be sung an hymn or such like song to the praise of Almighty God, in the best sort of melody and music that may be conveniently devised, having respect that the sentence of the hymn may be understood and perceived." It has been suggested²⁸ that this Injunction contemplated the introduction, among other things, of naturalized Latin hymns. Doubtless the Injunction was broad enough to accomplish such an end if the desire for it existed, but its own declaration of purpose ("for the comforting of such that delight in music") and its language throughout make clear its intention to permit anthems by the choir of florid music in addition to the plain-song which it prescribes for general use. It became in fact the recognized authorization at once of the anthem by the choir and of the Genevan Psalm by the people.

And when the completed Psalter of 1562 was prepared no advantage was taken of the opportunity to provide versions of Latin hymns. It is likely that the interests represented in the prefixed group of "churchly" hymns were not solicitous for the introduction of hymns of any sort into public worship. They found the *Veni Creator* in the Ordinal, and it fell in with their purpose of giving a Prayer Book tone to their appendage of hymns. There is at least no evidence of any desire to modify Cranmer's rejection of the old church Hymnody.

Nor did any such proposal follow. The metrical Psalm had prevailed. The Latin Hymn remained in the possession

²⁸ By Dr. Julian in his *Dictionary of Hymnology*, p. 344².

of the Roman Catholic Church, and successive editions of the Roman Primer witness its efforts that its people should know the hymns in their own tongue. In the *Primer* of 1604 (Antwerp) appeared an English version of the Vesper hymns from the *Breviary*. This was replaced in that of 1615 (Machline) by another version of the same. Twenty of the translations in this Primer have been claimed for Drummond of Hawthornden, a Scottish Protestant of the prelatie type, and printed as his by the editor of the 1711 Edinburgh edition of his works.²⁹ The *Primer* of 1685 has still another version of the hymns; and in that of 1706³⁰ the whole circle of the Breviary hymns is represented by English versions which are regarded³¹ as owing their origin to the distinguished poet Dryden and as being in large part his own work.

This body of vernacular hymns for the use of Catholic laymen had of course no bearing upon the services of their church, and no influence on those of the Church of England.³² It gradually passed, with the *Primer* itself, out of use and largely out of recollection until freshly studied in our own time by the Rev. Orby Shipley, an Anglican clergyman who passed into the Roman Church in 1877. But side by side with the Roman Primers appeared numerous editions of Primers of the Henry VIII type, from which devout Anglicans with Roman leanings could use versions of old church hymns in their private devotions.

²⁹ They are printed in W. C. Ward's "Muses' Library" ed. of Drummond, London, 1894, but the editor follows Orby Shipley (*Annus Sanctus*, London, 1884, vol. i, preface pp. 12 ff.) in doubting Drummond's authorship. For the opposite view, see Wm. T. Brooks in Julian, *Dictionary of Hymnology*, pp. 312, 313.

³⁰ *The Primer, or Office of the B. Virgin Mary, revis'd: with a new and approv'd version of the Church-Hymns throughout the Year: to which are added the remaining Hymns of the Roman Breviary. Printed in the Year 1706.*

³¹ By Orby Shipley, who prints a full selection in his *Annus Sanctus*. For Dryden's claims of authorship, see preface, pp. 9-12.

³² Dryden's version of *Veni Creator* in the 1706 *Primer* has become familiar in Protestant use. It had, however, appeared in Tonson's folio edition of Dryden's Poems in 1701.

One of them, John Cosin, afterwards Bishop of Norwich, aimed at a general introduction of offices in Primer fashion in his *A Collection of Private Devotions in the practice of the Ancient Church called the Houres of Prayer* (1627), renamed, the year following, by William Prynne, "Mr. Cozens His Couzening Devotions." It contained numerous versions of hymns for the canonical hours, and from it Cosin's own version of *Veni Creator* passed into *The Book of Common Prayer* of 1662, of which he was one of the revisers. There are other evidences that there still lingered in the English Church a feeling for and a feeling after the old Office Hymns which the Church had rejected. But it was confined within a narrow circle and it gradually waned. It was not without its influence in turning the minds of devotional poets toward the hymn-form. But by the XVIIIth century the whole area of Latin Hymnody had become a remote and unknown country to the Church of England clergy, vaguely indicated as "Popish." It was destined to remain so until the Oxford Revival of the XIXth century, whose leaders encountered much reproach in their efforts to explore it.

IV.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ENGLISH HYMN FROM THE METRICAL PSALM

The modern practice of singing hymns in English-speaking Churches grew, as has been intimated already, out of the Psalmody actually practised in those Churches. It found its occasion in the dissatisfaction with which the body of metrical Psalms, substantially alike in England and Scotland, came to be regarded by many of those who were expected to sing them. It found its opportunity in growing indifference toward Psalmody as a church ordinance, and the consequent degradation into which the practice of Psalmody as a musical performance was allowed to fall. This indifference and neglect was occasioned partly at least by the fact that the strict principle of an exclusive

use of Psalms in worship had lost something of the earlier force of its appeal to the conscience, and Psalms had failed to express fully the thoughts and emotions of the Christian heart.

The new Hymn itself was partly an outspreading of the metrical Psalm from its original basis of being a strict translation, to embrace a freer method of paraphrase, to include other parts of Scripture, to become an 'imitation' or exposition of Scripture, and finally a hymn more or less suggested by Scripture. It was partly also a development of the impulse to write devotional poetry, to which a hymnic turn was given by the felt need of hymns at first for private and then for public use. In the moulding of its form the precedent of the metrical Psalm no doubt predominated, but at the same time the older Latin ideal of the Hymn, kept alive by Roman Catholic books of devotion, was not without influence, by way of suggestion especially, upon the English Hymn.

The development of the Hymn from the metrical Psalm may perhaps be distinguished as proceeding along three lines, more or less synchronous.

1st. *By way of an effort to improve the literary character of the authorized Psalters.*

Our ineradicable conviction that one choosing the medium of verse should justify his choice by the artistic character of his work gives us a poor point of view from which to regard metrical Psalmody. It was a utilitarian device, based on devotion to the letter of God's word, aiming merely to cast it into measured and rhyming lines which plain people could sing to simple melodies, as they sang their ballads. The Swiss and French Calvinists, it is true, were able to make large use of the work of Clement Marot, the outstanding poet of France, and secured a version of one third of the Psalter which satisfied Calvin for its accuracy and the whole of France for its beauty. In England and Scotland it was otherwise. The men who made their Psalters were not poets nor even good craftsmen.

The poor and prosaic character of their work was an unconscious testimony that English prose was the natural medium of a literal translation of the Hebrew Psalms, and that resort to verse had secured singableness at the expense of literal fidelity; and, on the other hand, that the desire to be as literal as the English metre allowed, had joined with the authors' meagre poetic gifts, to produce a metrical version devoid of the grace or charm of poetry.

Therefore the English and Scottish Psalters were, from the beginning of the XVIIth century, subject to two influences. One was the Puritan demand for greater *literalness*. This culminated in the New England version, the famous *Bay Psalm Book* of 1640, and in the Scottish recension of the Psalter recommended by the Westminster Assembly, commonly called *Rous's Version*, 1650. These represented the Puritan movement to maintain Psalmody in its purity. It was an effectual movement in Scotland. But with the exclusion of the Puritans from the Church of England the movement did little permanently, except to remain as unsettlement and a desire for revision.

The other influence upon the Psalters was that of literary culture, which regarded them with growing dissatisfaction. The earlier private versions following the publication of *Sternhold and Hopkins*,—those, for example, of Archbishop Parker, Sir Philip Sidney and his sister, Sir John Harrington, and Sir John Davies, in England, and of Alexander Montgomerie in Scotland,—were literary efforts or intended for private use, and some remained in Ms. They were no doubt in their way protests against the current Psalters. But in 1619 George Wither in his *A Preparation to the Psalter* laboriously cleared the ground for the introduction of a better version than that employed since the Reformation. And his *The Psalms of David translated into Lyrick Verse* (1632), and also *The Psalms of King David translated by King James* (1631), were deliberate attempts to impose upon the people of England and Scotland respectively new versions of the Psalms, of which they had no

appreciation. The one was ordered to be bound up with every copy of the Bible issued in England, the other was bound up with Laud's Prayer Book for the Scottish Church: and both were futile enough.

Such desire and ability to improve the Psalter as there was in Scotland found its final expression in *The Psalms of David in Meeter*, 1650, in which painstaking work the preponderance of the Puritan motive did not prevent an advance in expression and in smoothness. In England the desire to improve the Psalter was confined to the educated minority. It was expressed, for a long time ineffectually, in criticisms and protests and in private versions of the Book of Psalms offered more or less frankly in the place of the current one. Of these George Sandys' *A Paraphrase upon the Psalms of David* attained real literary distinction and was set to music in 1638 by Henry Lawes. It failed, however, to attain any wide use, for which it was indeed poorly adapted.

But in 1695 appeared specimen sheets of a new Psalter by two Irishmen,—Nahum Tate, whom William III had made Poet Laureate, and Dr. Nicholas Brady, who had been zealous for the Prince of Orange in the Revolution, and was then a Royal Chaplain, and the holder also of a London living. Their joint work was completed and published in 1696 as *A New Version³³ of the Psalms of David, Fitted to the tunes used in Churches. By N. Tate and N. Brady*. Both writers were in royal favor, and on December 3 of the year of its publication, their version was by the King in Council "Allowed and Permitted to be used in all Churches, Chappels, and Congregations, as shall think fit to receive the same." In May, 1698, the Bishop of London "persuaded it may take off that unhappy Objection, which has hitherto lain against the Singing Psalms," 'heartily recommended the Use of this Version to all his Brethren within his Diocess.'

³³ The designation of *New Version* thus given has ever since clung to it as distinguishing it from the *Old Version* of Sternhold and Hopkins.

What at present concerns us is to determine the nature of the influence this book was fitted to exert on a Psalm singing church. The impression it makes upon ourselves, accustomed to the use of hymns, is not difficult to define. Our opinions might differ as to details, but we are likely to agree that these new Psalm versions—fluent and rhythmical and eminently singable as they are, following closely the Scripture and yet yielding to the devices of rhetoric as they do,—often make upon us the impression of being hymns rather than Psalms in the stricter sense. We feel, at times certainly, as though we had a hymn book in hand, and indeed recognize a number of pieces long familiar to us as hymns.³⁴ What we wish, however, is to know the impression made by the *New Version* at the time upon one who was accustomed and attached to singing Psalms of the *Old Version* in church worship.

Fortunately we have the testimony of one who regarded the attachment of the plain people to *Sternhold and Hopkins* as a sheet-anchor of English religion, and who has given us the impression made upon him by an examination of Tate and Brady. It occurs in *A Defence of the Book of Psalms, Collected into English Metre, by Thomas Sternhold, John Hopkins, and others. With Critical observations on the late New Version, Compar'd with the Old. By William Beveridge, D.D. Late Lord Bishop of St. Asaph.* (London, 1710). He says:—

"I do not hear, that this [*New Version*] was ever conferred with the *Hebrew*, as the other was; nor so much as that any of our Bishops, or other learned in that language, were appointed or authorized to do it. And there is too much cause to suspect, that it was never done. For, if we may take our Measures of its agreeing or disagreeing with the *Hebrew* Text, from its agreeing or not agreeing with the Psalms in the New Translation of the Bible, made out of the *Hebrew*, we may thence conclude, that there was not the Care taken about this, as there was about the Old Version. So far, at least, as I am able to judge, Who having got a Sight of this New Translation of the

³⁴ Among such: the 34th, "Thro' all the changing Scenes of life"; the 42nd, "As pants the Hart for cooling Streams"; the 51st, "Have Mercy, Lord, on me"; the 84th, "O God of Hosts, the mighty Lord"; and the 93rd, "With Glory clad, with Strength array'd".

Psalms in Verse, could not satisfy my own Mind about it, without comparing it with the New Translation in Prose. Which I had no sooner begun, but I found so many Variations, that I thought to have gather'd together all that I judged to be so, throughout the whole Book, without any other Design, but for my own Satisfaction. But when I had gone a little way, I found them multiply so fast upon me, that I could see no end, and, therefore, was forced to give it over, and to content myself with observing the reason of it; which, to me, seem'd to be this: That, whereas the Composers and Reviewers of the Old Translation had nothing else in their Eye, but to give us the true Sense of each place in as few Words as could be in Verse, and, therefore, keep close to the Text, without deviating from it, upon any account: In this New Translation, there is so much regard had to the Poetry, the Style, the Running of the Verse, and such-like inconsiderable Circumstances, that it was almost impossible to avoid going from the Text, and altering the true Sense and Meaning of it. For, hence it came to pass, that although the Authors, doubtless, designed a true Translation, yet other things crowding into their Heads at the same time, justled that Design so, that it could not always take effect".⁸⁵

We conclude that the impression made by the *New Version* upon the lovers of the old Psalter was not very different from that it makes upon ourselves. They recognized in it the proposal of a new standard in Church of England Psalmody, a proposed exchange of the Reformation principle of a close translation of the letter of Scripture for that of a rhetorical paraphrase.

And this perception on their part determined and limited the career of the *New Version* within the Church of England. It never became the Psalter of the whole Church. It never dispossessed the *Old Version* in many a village and country side parish, where, partly from conviction, partly owing to the force of use and wont, successive generations of the congregations went on singing the *Old Version* until well toward the middle of the nineteenth century. But it worked its way, often against resistance, into one and another parish church of London and its neighborhood, until it became preëminately the London Psalter, and into widening circles beyond, as those concerned for the improvement of Psalmody were able to have their way.

On the whole, the influence of the *New Version* was

⁸⁵ pp. 39-41.

very considerable. It set up in the Church of England a new standard of Psalmody, with the same authorization as the older one,—that of a Paraphrase which had something of the freer lyrical spirit of the Hymn as against the restrictions of the metrical Psalm. It is not unfair to say that the spirit and tendency of the *New Version* appears in the fact that it proved most acceptable to those least bent on maintaining the older type of Psalmody and whose minds were turning toward hymns; that a movement toward introducing them was connected with it, apparently from the beginning, and that by means of its "Supplement" it became the actual medium by which hymns were introduced into many churches in and beyond London.

2nd. The second line of the development of the Hymn from the metrical Psalm was *by way of an effort to accommodate the Scriptural text to the circumstances of present day worshippers*.

In the first enthusiasm at being in the possession of God's word in the vernacular, there was no desire to choose among Psalms equally inspired; and the custom was to sing the Psalter through in course. But after some experience the Reformed clergy in all the Churches exercised the right of selection. Even so there remained the inconvenience of singing certain statements in the selected Psalms inapplicable to the congregation. This became more conspicuous when each statement was put into the congregation's mouth separately and distinctly in the process of "lining out" before singing. In England both the selection and the lining of the Psalm fell into the hands of the parish clerk. And to him fell consequently the opportunity of omitting or even altering any lines he regarded as inopportune. While freely exercised, the remedy was irregular, inconvenient to those who could read, and dependent at best upon the discretion and readiness of a class of officials not characteristically gifted with either. The difficulty was in fact inherent in the strict conception of Psalmody itself, and hardly capable of remedy within its own limits.

A much more serious inconvenience in confining the con-

gregational praise to the Psalter made itself felt in England as it was felt in every country where the Reformed cultus had been introduced. It arose from the fact that the canonical Psalms represented one dispensation and the worshippers another; and the difficulty was that of satisfying Christian devotion with the songs of an earlier stage of revelation. In all Reformed Churches the congregations had been duly trained in the evangelical interpretation of the Psalms; and its expression was a commonplace of preaching and public prayer. The individual believer was of course expected to have in mind the evangelical implications of what he sang; but nevertheless it remained true that the Psalmody was his peculiar opportunity for expression in the church service, and that in Psalmody he could not name his Saviour's name. There was no real solution of this difficulty short of the inauguration of a Christian Hymnody; and toward this solution the Psalmody of all countries inevitably tended.

In England at the middle of the XVIIth century the mass of the people were not ready for so radical a change, and the expedient suggested itself of accomodating the Psalmody to the circumstances of the Christian dispensation by introducing the familiar evangelical interpretations of the Psalms into their actual text. In this way it seemed possible to attain the desired end, while leaving the accustomed form and manner of Psalmody entirely unimpaired and with changes in the words of inspiration only in the sense of interpreting them.

The name of Dr. Watts became, from the second decade of the XVIIIth century so inevitably associated with this method of accommodating the Psalms, and his influence told so overwhelmingly in favor of its adoption and spread, that it becomes difficult to realize that he was not the inventor of it. He had, however, an English predecessor in John Patrick, "Preacher to the Charter-House, London."

Patrick was one of the divines who hoped to remedy the low estate of Psalmody in the Church of England after

the Restoration by producing a version of the Psalms more acceptable than *Sternhold and Hopkins*. He published in 1672 *A Century of Select Psalms and portions of the Psalms of David, especially those of praise*. His work had less influence in the Church of England than with nonconformists. Richard Baxter in 1681³⁶ contrasts the work of the brothers Patrick. One by his *Friendly Debate* has done all in his power to destroy concord, the other by his *Psalms* "hath so far reconciled the nonconformists that divers of them use his Psalms in their congregations, though they have their old ones, Rouses . . . the New Englands . . . the Scots (agreed on by two nations)" and others, "in competition with it."

Dr. Watts³⁷ attributed the welcome given to Patrick's version by nonconformists to the fact "that he hath made use of the present language of *Christianity* in several Psalms, and left out many of the *Judaisms*."

"This", he says, "is the thing that hath introduced him into the favour of so many religious assemblies. Even those very persons that have an Aversion to sing any thing in Worship but *David's* Psalms have been led insensibly to fall in with Dr. Patrick's Performance by a relish of pious Pleasure; never considering that his work is by no means a just Translation, but a Paraphrase; and there are scarce any that have departed farther than he hath often done, in order to suit his Thoughts to the State and Worship of Christians. This I esteem his peculiar Excellency in those Psalms wherein he has practis'd it".

In this spirit of accommodation to Christian feeling Patrick did not hesitate to introduce the name of Christ, and to address to Him specifically passages inviting such interpretation.³⁸

Patrick also, as his title-page indicates, exercised freely the right of selection, the same privilege, he asserts in his preface, as every parish clerk practises; and he frankly avows that there is much in the Psalter unsuited, in his

³⁶ Preface to his *Poetical Fragments*.

³⁷ Preface to *The Psalms of David imitated*, 1719; p. xi.

³⁸ e. g. Psalm cxviii, part 2, verse 26:—

"Blest Saviour! that from God to us

On this kind errand came,

We welcome Thee; and bless all those

That spread Thy Glorious Fame".

opinion, to Christian use. In the preface to *A Century of Psalms*, he says:

"I considered and pitched upon, those Psalms or portions of them, which were . . . most proper and of most general use to us Christians. . . . But I balked those whose whole aspect was upon David's personal troubles, or Israel's particular condition, or related to the Jewish and Legal Oeconomy, . . . or where they express a temper not so suitable to the mild and gentle spirit of the Gospel, such as our Saviour repressed in his Disciples, not allowing imprecations of vengeance against our Enemies, but rather praying for them; especially when that prophetic spirit do's not now rest upon us, that did upon David. . . ."

The popularity of Patrick's version made these principles of evangelical interpretation and of selection familiar in nonconformist circles, and did something to undermine the supremacy of the *Old Version* within the Church of England, into some of whose parishes Patrick's version gradually worked its way. By 1691 his *Century* had reached its fifth edition, and in that year he rounded it out to a full version of the Psalter, which continued to be reprinted till the middle of the XVIIIth century as *The Psalms of David in metre: Fitted to the Tunes used in Parish-Churches*.

But Patrick's special importance is as the forerunner and exemplar of Dr. Watts, who in his work of turning the Psalms into Christian hymns frankly announced himself as following out more fully the lines instituted by Patrick. The full extent of Watts' obligations to his predecessor is indeed somewhat surprising. They cover not only the rhetorical style and rhythmical treatment, but extend to the language itself. Many lines in the two versions are identical; many more are reproduced by Watts with some alteration; and there are even whole stanzas which he has borrowed substantially unchanged. Dr. Watts announced his purpose to be to "exceed" Dr. Patrick by applying his method to every Psalm and by improving upon his verse.³⁹

It was Patrick, therefore, who first occupied successfully this middle ground between the metrical Psalm and the English Hymn. Actual priority in the device of giving an

³⁹ Preface to *The Psalms of David imitated*.

evangelical turn to the metrical Psalm belongs neither to Patrick nor Watts. Both were anticipated by Luther, and by the authors of Psalters in Switzerland and Holland. But in England the priority rests with Patrick.

(3) The third line of the development of the Hymn from the metrical Psalm was *by extension of the principle of Scripture paraphrase to cover the evangelical hymns and other parts of the Bible.*

Such extension was implicitly recognized in the original Calvinistic settlement of Church Song. No divine prescription was claimed for the Psalter. Calvin's *Genevan Psalter* included as a matter of fact the Commandments and *Nunc Dimittis*. From the first days of Psalm singing in England, a series of efforts began to provide paraphrases of other parts of Scripture for singing. The *Song of Solomon* was especially favored, and before the completion of the metrical Psalter, the first fourteen chapters of *The Actes of the Apostles, translated into Englyshe Metre, and dedicated to the Kynges moste excellent Maiestye, by Christofer Tye Doctor in Musyke, . . . wyth notes to eche Chapter, to synge and also to play upon the Lute* (1553),⁴⁰ were actually sung in Edward VIth's chapel. But both in England and Scotland the zeal of the people was for Psalmody, and the other paraphrases took no hold.

Versions of the evangelical canticles and other Prayer Book materials, were prefixed, as has already appeared, to the Psalter of 1562, without it may be any intention of church use. If we are to believe Warton, William Whyttingham introduced their use at once into his church at Durham, "to accommodate every part of the service to the psalmodic tone."⁴¹ However this may be, there was a movement in the XVIIth century to sing these paraphrases in place of the corresponding prose passages in the Prayer Book. One notes that in 1621, apparently for the first time,

⁴⁰ There is a facsimile in Robt. Steel, *The Earliest English Music Printing*, London, 1903, figure 13.

⁴¹ *History of English Poetry*, Hazlitt's ed., 1871, vol. iv, p. 130.

the hymns appended to *Sternhold and Hopkins* are displayed in the title, in *The Whole Booke of Psalmes: with the Hymnes Evangelicall, and Songs Spirituall. Composed into 4 parts by sundry authors, . . . newly corrected and enlarged by Tho: Rauenscroft*. This was a private venture, but became a standard in Psalmody, and may have influenced or merely recorded a changing fashion. The movement to utilize the paraphrases was not to enlarge the Psalmody so much as to get the canticles out of the hands of the choir and into those of the people. In effect it made paraphrases, of the canticles especially, a part of Psalmody in numerous Puritan churches. It is surprising to find that this practice survived the Restoration, and left traces in XVIIIth century worship.⁴²

Apart from this there was a movement toward Scriptural paraphrases in both England and Scotland with a view of supplementing the felt deficiencies of Psalmody.

In Scotland this showed itself in the proceedings resulting in the new Psalter of 1649-50. The hymns of the old Psalter seem to have been ignored, and attention was fixed upon the work of a small number of writers who were claimants for recognition.

Foremost among them was the influential but eccentric Zachary Boyd, three times Rector and twice Vice-Chancellor of the University of Glasgow, in whose library a mass of his work in paraphrasing Scripture remains in Ms. Boyd published in 1644 *The Garden of Zion*, containing in the first volume metrical histories of Scripture characters, and in the second, metrical versions of Job, Ecclesiastes, Proverbs and Solomon's Song. Under a separate title, but with continuous paging was appended *The Holy Songs of the Old and New Testament*. In or about 1646

⁴² "It ought to be noted, that both the sixty-seventh and hundredth Psalms, being inserted in the Common Prayer-Books in the ordinary version, ought so to be used, and not to be sung in Sternhold and Hopkins, or any other metre; as is now the custom in too many churches." Chas. Wheatly, *A Rational Illustration of the Book of Common Prayer*, cap. 3, Sect. 13.

he published *The Psalmes of David in Meeter*. The earliest copy known is of the 3rd edition of 1648, and copies of this were sent to most of the Presbyteries with a preface reading like a challenge to attention. To this edition "The Songs of the Old and New Testament," numbering 16, were appended.

The same act of the General Assembly of 1647 which ordered the revision of *Rous's Psalms* had also recommended "That Mr. Zachary Boyd be at the paines to translate the other Scriptural Songs in meeter, and to report his travels also to the Commission of Assembly, that after their examination thereof, they may send the same to Presbyteries to be there considered until the next Generall Assembly."⁴³ The Assembly of 1648, in sending down the amended *Rous*, also appointed "Master John Adamson and Mr. Thomas Craford to revise the Labours of Mr. Zachary Boyd upon the other Scripturall Songs," with a view to reporting them to the next Assembly.⁴⁴ There is no record of such a report upon Boyd's songs having reached the Assembly. David Leitch, minister of Ellon, had also presented some hymns of his own to the Commission of the Assembly in 1648, who took steps to further his labors, but do not seem to have brought them before the Assembly itself.⁴⁵ In February, 1650 the Commission called upon the Rev. Robert Lowrie, then of Edinburgh, to exhibit his work in versifying the Scripture songs.

With this request the effort to introduce Scripture songs ceased, and the new Psalter appeared without them. This result has been attributed somewhat vaguely to the "troublesome times."⁴⁶ The record itself suggests a sufficient explanation in the evident fact that the songs offered as available did not commend themselves to the Assembly or its Commission; a situation readily accounted for by an ex-

⁴³ *Acts of the General Assemblies, 1638-1649*; ed. 1691, p. 354.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 428.

⁴⁵ See D. J. MacLagan, *The Scottish Paraphrases*, Edinburgh, 1889, pp. 2, 3.

⁴⁶ Rev. Jas. Mearns in Julian's *Dictionary of Hymnology*, p. 1023.

amination of Boyd's crude work. We may agree with Maclagan⁴⁷ that those who had the improvement of the Psalmody in hand thought it prudent to have the new Psalter established as soon as possible without waiting for Scriptural songs, which they expected would follow as soon as a collection could be agreed on. With this expectation the "troubulous times" no doubt interfered.

In the years preceding the Revolution Patrick Symson, an "outed" minister, deprived of his benefice at Renfrew, occupied his compelled leisure by paraphrasing Scripture. He published in 1685 a little book of *Spiritual Songs or Holy Poems. A garden of true delight, containing all the Scripture-Songs that are not in the Book of Psalms, together with several sweet prophetic and Evangelical Scriptures, meet to be composed into songs. Translated into English meeter, and fitted to be sung with any of the common tunes of the Psalms.* (Edinburgh: Anderson).

Symson's preface assumes that the Church's purpose to add the other Scriptural songs to the Psalms still holds good; and in this he was plainly justified, as after-proceedings showed. But his preface recognizes also that in "putting many more Scriptures into song than were intended for such by the Spirit", he is merely trying experiments, the success of which the Church must judge.

The General Assembly resumed its sessions after the Revolution of 1689; and in December 1695 Symson became its moderator. In the month following, there was a reference of his *Spiritual Songs* to the Commission for revision.⁴⁸ Owing to the loss of the records further proceedings cannot be followed, till in April 1705 the Commission was directed to revise Symson's book for public use, and report to the next Assembly. The work was put into the hands of two committees, one for the East, and one for the West. The Committees agreed to exclude Symson's experiments in versifying passages of Scripture that were not

⁴⁷ *The Scottish Paraphrases*, p. 2.

⁴⁸ See Maclagan, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

songs, so far as their public use was concerned, "seeing if other places of Holy Scripture should be turned into meeter, there would be no end." But they reported 26 versions of Scripture songs as available after revision by a hand skilled in "poecie". These the Assembly of 1706 sent down to the Presbyteries for examination and report.⁴⁹ So slight was the response that the Assembly of 1707 continued the reference.⁵⁰ That of 1708 ordered the commission to examine the songs in the light of amendments suggested by Presbyteries, and then to establish and issue them for public use, as was formerly done with the Psalms in 1649.⁵¹ The Commission appealed to the Synods for help in the matter, and failed to elicit any of consequence. It became plain that the Church felt no interest in the songs offered it, and the Commission allowed the whole project to drop.⁵²

This whole movement toward paraphrases in Scotland presents some curious features. We see, on the one hand, a stirring within the church of dissatisfaction with the current Psalmody and of sympathy with the movement of the time to modify it. We see the ideal of the Hymn evolving itself in men's minds, and gradually seeking expression in their work. We see, on the other hand, practical hindrances preventing any realization of the ideal in Scotland. There was, to begin with, the prejudice of the plain people in favor of the familiar Psalms. There was also the hindrance from leadership which did not see its way clearly, and was misled by the ambitious influences of authorship. But the greatest hindrance of all was the paraphrasers themselves, whose work seemed to be the only available embodiment of the new movement. Their work was of a quality so poor, so far below even the standard of the metrical Psalms, that it gave even those most zealous for enlarging the Psalmody a feeling of helplessness and indecision, soon merging into hopelessness.

⁴⁹ *Acts of the General Assembly*, Edinburgh, 1843, p. 392.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 419.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 430.

⁵² See MacLagan, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

In Scotland, then, we have first to note the work of Boyd and Symson as marking the beginning of the development of the Hymn from the Psalm, and then to note that their work became practically a bar to the introduction of paraphrases into Scotland. The attempt to introduce their work into public use reacted in favor of pure Psalmody. The desire for other Scripture songs never perhaps died out, but when those of Symson were consigned to oblivion in 1709 the whole movement followed them, not to emerge again until the general Assembly of 1741.

In England the contemporaneous movement to supplement the Psalms with other Scripture songs found its fullest expression in the work of William Barton. Barton has been well described as a "conforming Puritan", and was probably vicar of St. Martin's, Leicester, at his death. During the whole of the Civil War period and long after the Restoration he pursued two projects for the betterment of Church Song with unflagging zeal. He stands at and, it must be said, he crosses the dividing line between the old Psalmody and the new Hymnody, and his work faces both ways.

His earlier project was in line with the Puritan demand for a "purer" version of the Psalter. He published in 1644 *The Book of Psalms in metre close and proper to the Hebrew*. It was favorably received, and its third edition (1646) was recommended by the Lords to the Westminster Assembly as their preferred version. The contest between the partisans of Rous and Barton prevented any version from receiving the imprimatur of Parliament. It was a great sorrow to Barton that his version failed to displace the old Psalter, but the substance of it entered largely into the Scottish *Psalms of David in Meeter* of 1650.

In the preface to his Psalter Barton gave preëminence to the Psalms, and emphasized their appropriateness to present day use. But in 1659 he took an opposite direction, and published *A Century of Select Hymns*, increased in 1670 to

Two Centuries,⁵³ and, after his death, published complete by his son as *Six Centuries of Select Hymns and Spiritual Songs collected out of the Holy Bible* (London, 1688).

In the preface to the *Centuries*, Barton came out boldly for hymns, with the proviso that they be founded on Scripture. He cited the example of the Apostles and early Church and of the Bohemian Brethren. The hymns of the Latin Church, on the other hand, proved how "horrid blasphemy" creeps into hymns forsaking the Scripture basis. He condemns the "Complaint of a Sinner" and "Humble Sute" in the *Old Version* as nonsensical or erroneous. But in applying his principle to his own work, he allowed himself great liberties. It was enough that his hymns were "collected out of the Bible". He selects passages and individual texts from one Testament or both, turns them into verses, and weaves them into the unity of a mosaic hymn: each hymn and often each stanza being preceded by the "proof texts". Three of his *Six Centuries* are "Psalm Hymns", in which he deals in the same way with the Psalms, omitting what he regards as unsuitable, and expounding "dark passages".

Are these productions translations or paraphrases or hymns? In relation to the individual texts dealt with they are translations, adhering closely to the English prose version. In their freedom in handling and combining unrelated texts, they suggest the paraphrase. In motive and intention and in their general effect they are clearly hymns. Their author so named them: they were so regarded by his

⁵³ Some malign influences were working against Barton. He complains that the appearance of his *Two Centuries* was obstructed for three years by fraud and injuriousness; that *Four Centuries* appeared in 1668 without his knowledge and through deceit; that the adoption of his Psalter was thwarted by enemies; and that an edition of 1500 was printed by stealth to supply Scottish churches that much preferred it to the officially adopted *Psalms in Meeter*. Barton's protest that he had no aim but that of promoting godliness perhaps furnishes a key. Some may have thought so much zeal had an eye for personal glory and profit, and have set about to diminish or share them.

contemporaries⁵⁴ and by the hymn writers who followed him.⁵⁵

Barton's work thus occupies the very point of transition between the metrical Psalm and the Hymn, and its influence was very marked upon English Hymnody. In his own Church his immediate influence was barred by the Restoration, when the singing of *Sternhold and Hopkins* was resumed just where it had left off at the Puritan Revolution, and without spirit enough to seek improvement. But among the Independents Barton's hymns as well as his Psalms were widely introduced and used in some places for a long time.⁵⁶ They accustomed the people to New Testament song and to a freer handling of Scripture than obtained under Psalmody. It was among the Independents that the new school of hymn writers was to arise and conquer the churches. And it was on them that Barton's influence told most, and through them that he helped to fix the type and character of the English Hymn as based upon Scripture and saturated with it. There was no essential difference between Barton's hymns collected out of Scripture and the succeeding hymns based upon Scripture. Dr. Watts in the preface to his *Hymns and Spiritual Songs* of 1707, has his eye on Barton when he says: "I might have brought some Text or other, and applied it to the Margin of every Verse if this method had been as Useful as it was easy."⁵⁷

V.

THE BEGINNINGS OF ORIGINAL HYMN WRITING.

The Reformation settlement of Congregational Song on the basis of the metrical Psalm was not only a turning away from the historic source of Hymnody in the Latin Church, but also an indefinite postponement of any enterprise to-

⁵⁴ In a copy of the 1688 ed. of the *Centuries* a contemporary Ms. index is bound in, showing "In what page of the *Hymn Book* Composed by Mr. Wm. Barton to find any Scripture Therein translated".

⁵⁵ "These hymns of Mr. Barton": Simon Brown, *Hymns*, 1720, preface.

⁵⁶ The last ed. of the *Centuries* was in 1768.

⁵⁷ P. xi.

ward producing an original English Hymnody. The few original hymns appended to the Psalters were not so much a promise and beginning of such a Hymnody as a closing of the account. In Churches given over to the singing of metrical versions of Scripture the motive toward producing hymns was largely lacking. Verse writing suggested by ideals of worship took the current form of paraphrase. Devotional verse felt free to clothe itself in elaborated metres and to express itself in ways alien to the unpoetic mind. To Spenser in Elizabeth's time and to Milton in the Puritan period the 'Hymn' meant the same thing. It was a religious ode. It is not in the great poets of any time we seek the origins and development of Hymnody. Their genius shrinks from liturgical restraints, and their pride from what Tennyson called the commonplaceness of hymns.

Of the first group of religious poets under Elizabeth and James, Southwell and John Davies were Roman Catholics, and the Fletchers made no contributions to Hymnody. Donne was a convert from Catholicism, and wrote generally in an esoteric style, but his touching lyric "Wilt Thou forgive" was frequently sung in his presence as an anthem by the choristers of St. Paul's Cathedral.⁵⁸ Some minor poets of these reigns, such as William Hunnis, Sir Nicholas Breton, Francis Kinwelmersh, Timothy Kendall and John Norden, furnish here and there among the more numerous Psalm versions a few simple devotional strains, generally personal and meditative and not intended for music, which may nevertheless be regarded as hymns.⁵⁹

A marked exception to the general trend of its time was *The Hymnes and Songs of the Church* (1623) of George Wither. It is in two parts, the first of Scriptural paraphrases, the second of hymns for the festivals, holy days and special occasions of the church. The hymns show a remarkable appreciation of the office and character of the

⁵⁸ Walton, *Lives*, 1670.

⁵⁹ Most of them may be found in the three volumes of *Select Poetry*, chiefly devotional, published by the Parker Society.

Hymn, in their tone of simple piety, their method and structure. Many of them were repeated, many added, in Wither's *Halelviah, or Britan's Second Remembrancer* (1641), a personal and household handbook of praise.

But the thing really remarkable is the appearance, so unrelated to its time and surroundings, of this fully formed hymn book for the Church of England. What its effect might have been upon the church worship and upon the development of a church Hymnody, can only be surmised. Wither, in his ambition and his sore need of money, obtained from James I a patent that his *Hymnes and Songs* should be bound up with every copy issued of the metrical Psalter. The effect of this extraordinary proceeding was disastrous. It aroused the animosity of the Company of Stationers, who resorted to every expedient to make the patent a dead letter until they secured its revocation.⁶⁰ They were responsible for preventing the circulation of Wither's hymns; as a result of which the hymns soon passed into oblivion and left singularly little influence behind them.⁶¹

In the group of sacred poets who flourished in the second quarter of the XVIIth century, Quarles, Herbert, Crashaw and Vaughan, and even in Herrick and other of the court group, it is not difficult to find materials more or less available for the hymn book, even though no such use occurred to the writers. Herbert delighted in sacred song, often singing his own pieces to the viol. His actual connection with Hymnody came through the appearance in 1697 of *Select Hymns from Mr. Herbert's Temple*, in which a C.M. recension of some of his verses was attempted, and through his later influence upon the Wesleys. In Donne's poetry English devotional verse recovered something of the churchly and Catholic spirit which had been repressed in the Church of England, and this Herbert inherited from Donne. But neither sought or found the plane on which the con-

⁶⁰ See E. Farr's preface to his reprint of *The Hymnes and Songs* in the "Library of Old Authors".

⁶¹ Two have been rescued, and have found a modest place in modern use:—"Come, O come, with pious lays", and "Behold the Sun that seemed but now". These are perhaps Wither's best.

gregational Hymn moves. Perhaps Vaughan, who learned his spirituality from Herbert, came the nearest of the three to the spirit and form of the Hymn.

But after the Restoration, with the palpable decadence of the newly restored Psalmody in the Church of England, as also among nonconformists, and with the feeling after hymns that was in both English and Scottish air, there came a decided change in the aim and character of devotional verse. The metrical Psalm, though it was to linger, had played its part: the paraphrase gave little satisfaction to the conscious or unconscious feeling after hymns; and, with the new demand, devotional feeling and homiletic intent expressed themselves in English hymns. It is likely that the revival of the 'Catholic' element in Anglicanism, expressed in Donne's and Herbert's poetry, played some part in this change by turning the attention of many back to the old church Hymnody of the office books and to the English versions of it always kept extant in England by Roman Catholic poets and in current books of private devotions. Jeremy Taylor's *The Golden Grove, or a Manual of Daily Prayers and Letanies fitted to the days of the week*, (1655) is itself Primerwise, and its hymns are "Festival Hymns according to the manner of the Ancient Church". Taylor, it is true, did not succeed in finding the plane of the congregational Hymn, but it will appear that the same influences were not wanting upon some of the earliest of his successors who did.

With Crossman (1664) and Ken (c. 1674) in the English Church, and Austin (1668) who had left it for the Roman, we may begin that succession of modern English hymn writers which has never failed up to the present time.

Samuel Crossman was one of the ejected ministers of 1662, but soon afterward he conformed, and became Dean of Bristol. In 1664 he published *The Young Man's Monitor*, to which was appended (with separate pagination) *The Young Man's Meditation, or some few Sacred Poems upon select Subjects and Scriptures*. These are in the

Psalm metres, and are clearly hymns. That they were thought more likely to be read than sung we may infer from the motto used: "A Verse may find him whom a Sermon flies." Two of these hymns were brought to modern notice by Lord Selborne, and are found in current hymn-books.⁶² Crossman's work suggests Puritan rather than Catholic influences.

A striking group of thirty-nine hymns⁶³ appeared in John Austin's *Devotions, in the ancient way of Offices: with Psalms, Hymns and Prayers; for every day in the week, and every holiday in the year* (Paris, 1668). It was a most influential book, of which four editions preserved its Roman form; and which, modified twice for Anglican use, was reprinted as late as 1856. Except for two or three from Crashaw the hymns are original,⁶⁴ and give Austin a distinguished place among the earliest English hymn writers. There is ample evidence that these fervid hymns found immediate acceptance beyond the bounds of Austin's own Church. As we shall see, they were at once appropriated by those endeavoring to introduce Hymnody into the Church of England.

Thomas Ken had been educated at Winchester College under the Puritan regime, and returned to it in some capacity in 1665. In 1674 he published *A Manual of Prayers for the use of the Scholars of Winchester College*, which contained the injunction: "Be sure to sing the Morning and Evening Hymn in your chamber devoutly." Though Ken's morning and evening hymns, now so well known, were not included in the *Manual* till after 1694, we may conclude that they were thus in use within a few years of the Restoration. In these we can hardly fail to recognize an independent beginning of modern hymn writing and singing; not developed out of Puritan precedents, but suggested by the models of the *Breviary*. The Latin hymns

⁶² "My Song is love unknown", and "My Life's a Shade, my daies".

⁶³ 43 in 3rd ed.: the additions perhaps by the editor.

⁶⁴ The best may be found in Lord Selborne's *Book of Praise*.

had been sung in the daily services of Winchester College up to the Reformation, and not improbably until Ken's own school days.⁶⁵ But in any case a *Breviary*, *Missal*, and several works on the Liturgy were among Ken's cherished books.⁶⁶ He was evidently attracted by the old church ritual, and his hymns have caught the tone of the Breviary hymns.⁶⁷

Bishop Ken's hymns have had a marked influence upon English Hymnody in the direction of simplicity, but it must not be assumed that they had immediate influence upon the situation of their time. The *Manual* was a popular little book, often reprinted, but it is to be remembered that the hymns were not in it till the close of the XVIIth century. They were apparently sung in the school from Ms. or printed sheets, and only in 1692 were published in a pamphlet without Ken's knowledge or approval.⁶⁸ Until then at least they could not have been widely known.

Richard Baxter, an ejected minister of 1662, has left on record⁶⁹ his enthusiasm for Psalm singing, and left also an unpublished version of the Psalms.⁷⁰ But his *Poetical Fragments* of 1681 contained several original hymns. They were intended for singing, with the stanzas numbered, and a reference of each hymn to the appropriate Psalm-tune. While his contribution to modern Hymnody is but small, his figure seems to have stood for something like a centre of the Restoration Hymn movement, as the close friend of Mason and apparently the begetter of Barton, who traces his work to Baxter's request that he versify the *Te Deum*.⁷¹

The work of John Mason, rector of Water-Stratford, was at the time far more influential than Ken's. He pub-

⁶⁵ See E. H. Plumptre, *Life of Thomas Ken*, n. d., vol. i, p. 34.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. ii, appendix ii, p. 297.

⁶⁷ Ken plainly knew also Sir Thomas Browne's bedside hymn in *Religio Medici*, "The night is come, like to the day".

⁶⁸ See Dr. Julian in his *Dictionary of Hymnology*, 2nd. ed., p. 1670.

⁶⁹ Epistle to the Reader in *Poetical Fragments*, 1681.

⁷⁰ Printed in 1692.

⁷¹ See "Epistle" in his *Two Centuries*

lished in 1683 *Spiritual Songs, or Songs of Praise to Almighty God upon several occasions. Together with the Song of Songs . . . paraphrased in English verse.* To this, in 1693, the inferior *Penitential Cries* of his friend Thomas Shepherd were added.

Mason's preface is a call to sing God's praises, and the songs are in the C.M. of the Psalm book, and numbered as in a hymn book.⁷² They are not paraphrases, but free hymns, and it is curious to note the effort to connect them at least mechanically with the strict paraphrases of Solomon's Song.

Mason worked within the limits of the Church of England, but his close friendship with Baxter and the association of his work with that of the nonconformist Shepherd, indicate no doubt his real position and sympathies. The great circulation and influence of his hymns was among nonconformists. His book was in its 8th edition at the date of the appearance of Watts's *Hymns*. Mason's work had a great influence on Watts, and must be credited with a considerable share both in moulding and in popularizing the English Hymn.

It thus appears that between the dates of the Restoration and the Revolution there arose a not inconsiderable group of original hymn writers, whose work in volume, in character, and in influence, counted for something in the history of the English Hymn. It is clear that these earlier writers deprive Dr. Watts of that extreme originality often ascribed to him as "The father of the English Hymn". And yet we shall not be far out of the way if we regard this earlier group as the Predecessors of Dr. Watts. Their work was necessarily somewhat tentative, because it was not until the appearance of Watts' *Hymns and Spiritual Songs* in 1707 that the type of the English Hymn was definitely determined.

Philadelphia.

LOUIS F. BENSON.

⁷² "My Lord, my Love, was crucified", and "Now from the altar of my heart", are the most familiar.

THE DUTCH "STATEN-BYBEL" OF 1637.

The Tercentenary of the King James version of the English Bible has brought into prominence the literary aspect of the Scriptures. We have been reminded of the value of our inheritance, of what the Bible has done for our civilization, of the marvelous way in which it has imprinted itself, with indelible characters, on our literature. Thus the mind is naturally turned to the general subject of the Scriptures which sprang up in the wake of the Reformation. These were undeniably fruits of the "formal principle" of the Reformation—the absolute authority of the Holy Scriptures for faith and practice—which required that the Bible be made accessible, in its purest form, to all men. Wherever therefore the Reformation asserted itself, the Scriptures were translated into the vernacular. Germany and France, Italy and Spain, Scandinavia and England obtained ready access to the Word of God. As a matter of course some of these translations were hastily made and required revision and re-translation, as soon as the time for such labor was fully ripe. Here as everywhere else "the better proved an enemy of the good." Judged by closeness to the original text and masterful idiomatic rendering in majestic, rhythmic language, the English version, as perfected in 1611, is one of the best of the translations. One other version, however, equals, or perhaps excels it, in these respects. That is the great Dutch "Staten-Bybel," which practically synchronizes with it in origin but through many unavoidable hindrances was not completed till 1636. It seems opportune, in connection with the Tercentenary of the "Authorized Version" in English, to give some account of its great sister version.

The influence of the Lowlands on the Reformation can scarcely be exaggerated. "The Brethren of the Common Life" wrought there. and through their literary labors,

especially in the copying of the Sacred Books, set in motion a tremendous spiritual power. We begin to appreciate how deep and extensive their influence was when we turn over the pages of Drs. Pyper and Cramer's monumental work the *Bibliotheca Reformatoria Neerlandica*, the seventh volume of which has now appeared, and read the early Reformation documents gathered in it. Portions of the Bible, translated into Dutch from the Vulgate, were current in the Netherlands, in missals and breviaries long before the Reformation. But Luther's Bible of 1522 came like a spark in a powder magazine. Men, who felt the hunger of the masses for the Word of God, had no idea of stopping to translate anew for each country from the originals. The Bible was immediately rendered into the tongue of the Lowlands from the Saxon-German in which Luther had clothed it. The New Testament translated by Hans van Roemundt appeared at Antwerp in 1522, the very year of its publication in Germany, and was reprinted in 1525, 1526 and frequently afterwards. Nor was this the only version. Men were hard at work everywhere translating the great German treasure, and the Lowlands were literally flooded with the Scriptures. These earlier labors were all expended on the New Testament. The entire Bible began to appear from 1525, the pioneer in this wider field being again Hans van Roemundt. All earlier versions were compelled however to make way for that of Jacob van Liesveldt, which was first published at Antwerp in 1526, and was reprinted in innumerable editions up to 1542, when the author and printer suffered martyrdom at the hands of the Inquisition. We can scarcely wonder that the iconoclastic storm, with all its hideous consequences, swept first of all over Flanders in 1566. It is estimated by competent authorities, that the editions of the Old and New Testament, which appeared in the Netherlands, between 1522 and 1543, numbered more than one hundred.¹ Here lies the explanation of the "Eighty-Years War," with its unequal struggle against Spain and the mar-

¹Le Long, *Boekzaal der Nederlandsche Bybels*, pp. 846-867.

velous heroism displayed by a God-fearing people. Elsewhere the Church was founded by the State, here the Church founded the State. Without the Reformation the Netherlands had ever remained Spanish provinces, and without the Bible in the vernacular there had been no Dutch Reformation. Liesveldt's rendering of the Scriptures remained in the main the Dutch Bible, till it was replaced by the great version of 1637.

The Dutch people were not at heart satisfied with their Bible. It was not truly Dutch, but only a transposed German rendering. The question of a better Dutch translation of the Bible was raised as early as the Synod of Embden, 1571, the proposition coming from the colony of Dutch refugees at Cologne. But nothing was done. The provincial Synods of Holland and Zeeland broached the matter again in 1574. Once more it was laid on the table, great hopes being expressed of the new French and Latin versions, which were contemplated.² But the thing would not rest, and came up again at the Synod of Dordt, 1578. This time more radical action was contemplated; the question was raised "whether it were not feasible and necessary to translate the Scriptures from the Hebrew into the mother-tongue or at least to revise the common translation, and to whom this work shall be committed."³ Again, however, the movement failed; and this although the Synod committed the supervision of the contemplated task to the statesman-scholar and poet, Philip van Marnix van Aldegonde, who was a great favorite of the States-General, and to the widely famous preacher Petrus Dathenus. The latter apparently did nothing at all in the matter, whilst the former instead of supervising the translators, attacked the task himself and began an original translation of the book of Genesis. Marnix thought ill of Luther's Bible as a literal translation. In a letter to Drusius dated July 17, 1575, he says: "Inter omnes omnium versiones ego ingenue fatebor

² *Kerkelyk Handboekje*, p. 111.

³ Ypey en Dermout, *Geschiedenis der Hervormde Christelyke Kerk in Nederland*, ii. p. 346.

mihi visam esse nullam tanto abesse ab Ebraica veritate intervallo, atque sit Lutheri versio, a qua emanavit nostra." The Synod of the Hague, 1586, was informed of Marnix's labors and requested him to continue therein and to communicate the results to scholarly divines, "so as to make the translation a work of many rather than of one man." He was also requested to undertake the translation of the New Testament as well as of the Old Testament. More than any other man Marnix was fitted for the task by his thorough knowledge of the original tongues of the Bible as well as that of the Netherlands. The latter was a prerequisite by no means common in a day, in which learned men considered Latin their mother tongue. But Marnix fully understood the situation and was keenly alive to the bitter opposition of many bigoted churchmen, both on account of his moderate views and of the high favor with which the States-General regarded him. He therefore declined the honor conferred on him, June 12, 1586, and ceased his labors.

Notwithstanding this rebuff the churches continued to insist on a new translation and the Synod of South Holland in 1587 appointed four men to undertake the task—Jacobus Kimedoncius, Jeremias Bastingius, Arnoldus Cornelli van der Linden and Wernerus Helmichius, all ministers renowned for learning. The other provincial Synods were advised of these appointments, but the States-General was in vain appealed to to finance the project. Their treasury was exhausted by the long war with Spain and habits of thrift had made them very cautious in the expenditure of the public funds. Moreover they were not deeply interested in the matter and the relation between them and the churches was somewhat strained. The appointments therefore lapsed. Five years later the States-General passed a resolution to permit the churches, through a committee of their own appointment, to make a translation of the Latin version of Tremellius and Junius, but so perfunctory was this action that the churches seem not even to have received a formal notification of it. The source of this evident lack of interest lay in the relation between Marnix

and the churches, who seem to have had a very bitter feeling against this great statesman and scholar. And only when the latter was requested once more, in 1593, to devote his talents to the task did the States wake up. Under pressure both from the churches and the States, Marnix finally accepted the offer, the next year, and removed to Leyden, there to settle down to steady work, with the great library of the university at his elbow. The States promised him an annual salary of 2800 florins, whilst the university honored him with the title of professor of theology. His work, as he proceeded, was to be submitted to a committee, appointed by all the provincial Synods, and the solution of the problem at last seemed to have been found. For the first time the Church and the State were in complete harmony and peaceably coöperated for the one thing desired. But a Sysiphus-like experience was in store for the churches; the laden bough escaped their hands when the ripe fruit was about to drop into it. Scarcely was the work seriously begun, when it was interrupted by the selection, by the States-General, of Marnix as ambassador to France. It was said that national interest absolutely demanded this appointment, and it is true that Marnix was better fitted than any other man for this important post, in this critical period of the history of the nascent Republic. Marnix accepted. All that had been accomplished in his Bible translation was the practical completion of the book of Genesis, which was incorporated almost in toto in the later "Staten-Bybel."

An intimate acquaintance with the political and ecclesiastical history of the Netherlands, in this period, is necessary to appreciate the difficulties which beset the plans of a new Bible translation. So many currents and undercurrents, which escape the general view, were at work in this affair and the relation between the State and the Church was so utterly different there from what it was elsewhere, that only a keen eye and a practiced mind can follow the intricate path through the labyrinth. On the resignation of Marnix the churches appointed van der Linden and Helmichius to prosecute the work. But the States which had willingly paid

Marnix the (for that time) princely sum of 2800 florins annually, were unwilling to be at any expense whatever for the ministerial translation. Van der Linden died in 1605 and Helmichius followed him in 1608. Neither of them had done anything of moment to add to the finished work of Marnix. The first idea of a new translation of the Bible had been broached in 1571 and after thirty-six years not even the book of Genesis had been finished. Soon after the death of Helmichius the bitter Arminian controversy arose, which like a threatening thunderstorm had for many years been massing on the horizon—for which the materials in fact had existed from the very beginning in the Dutch Reformation, in a humanistic and Zwinglian tendency, which had many adherents, especially among the upper and educated classes of society. Its raucous clamor filled the whole land, it touched palaces and hovels alike; it filled every sphere of life with rancorous debate and divided the Republic, still fighting for its very existence, into two bitterly hostile camps. The line between the government and the bulk of the ecclesiastics was more clearly drawn than ever before and the Arminian controversy came near to undoing the Republic, through a relentless civil war. It so completely occupied the attention of the political and ecclesiastical leaders that all thought of the new Bible-translation was abandoned till 1618-1619.⁴ Even in the bosom of the Church there had been from the beginning two parties, two ideals. The one desired a translation from the originals; the other one from an approved Latin or German source.

But no sooner had the Arminian storm spent its force even in part, than the old desire for a new Bible reasserted itself. The new English translation of 1611 seems to have brought matters to a head. We find a circumstantial narration of the first serious attempt to achieve the hitherto unachievable in the *Acta Synodi Dordt*. Ao 1618-1619. Sessions VI to XIII. The bitter war between the political and ecclesiastical factions had resulted in a virtual victory for the Church. Arminianism, which had been regnant in

⁴ Hinlopen, *Hist. van de Ned. Overzetting des Byb.*, p. 57.

the heyday of Oldenbarneveldt's power, had been defeated by the *coup d'état* of Maurice of Nassau, and the Calvinistic party ruled in Church and State alike. The Arminians were driven from Church and country into exile or were forced to a humiliating surrender. Thus all factionalism was suspended for the time being and the hour for unanimous action had come at last. The signs of the times were auspicious. In the sixth session of the Synod of Dordt, the question of the proposed new translation of the Bible came up and the foreign delegates were asked for advice. The *Acta* gives us these names as the representatives, sent by the Anglican Church: George Carleton, Bishop of Llandaff; Joseph Hall, Th.D., Dean of Wigorn; John Davenant, Th.D., Professor at Cambridge and Regent of Queen's College; Samuel Ward, Th. D., Archdeacon of Taunton and Regent of Sidney College, Cambridge. And here is what they tell in a carefully written statement in the Seventh Session.

"The theologians of Great Britain, not deeming it advisable to make a hasty and impromptu reply to so weighty a question, have deemed it to be their bounden duty, after ripe deliberation and because honorable mention has been made of the English translation which King James, with great care and expense, has recently published, to tell this reverend synod how and in what way his royal Majesty has accomplished this task. First, in dividing the work, he wished this plan to be followed. The entire body of the Scriptures was divided into six parts, and for the translation of each part seven or eight of the principal men, well acquainted with the languages, were appointed. Two parts were assigned to some London theologians and the four other parts were equally divided between the theologians of the two academies. After each had accomplished the task assigned him, from them all twelve select men were called together in one place, who have corrected and improved the whole work. Finally Bilson, the reverend bishop of Winton, and Dr. Smith, who is now bishop of Gloucester, a celebrated man and one who from the first was well versed

in this work, have finally revised this translation, after ripe deliberation and investigation.

"As to the rules prescribed to the translators, they are as follows:

"1. It was agreed that they should not simply make a new translation, but that the old one, which was long since adopted by the Church, should be purified of all faults and defects and that therefore they should not depart from the old translation, unless the truth of the original text or any emphasis should require it.

"2. That no notes were to be placed in the margin, except the notation of textual references.

"3. That where the Hebrew or Greek word allowed a double sense, in that case, the one should be expressed in the text, the other in the margin, which was done when a different reading was found in the approved texts (exemplaren).

"4. The most difficult Hebrew and Greek idioms were put in the margin.

"5. In the translation of Tobit and Judith, because great difference was found between the Greek text and the old Latin version, they have followed the Greek text.

"6. That the words which had to be put in the text, here and there, to fill out the same, should be differentiated by a different, *i. e.*, a smaller letter.

"7. That new arguments be placed before each book and new compendiums before each chapter.

"8. That a perfect genealogy and a description of the Holy Land be added to this work."⁵

A careful study of the *Acta* of the Synod of Dordt, in its six subsequent sessions, seems to indicate that the Dutch translators availed themselves, to some extent at least, of the rules which the English delegates reported to them as binding on their English brethren, engaged in the same work. It was resolved to follow as closely as possible the original text of the Scriptures and also to follow, as far as this fundamental rule permitted, the words and expressions of

⁵ *Acta Syn. Dordtr.* 1618-1619, vii. S.

the earlier version. Like the English translators, these were to avail themselves of other translations and also of the aid of specialists in deciding on the rendering of specially difficult passages. In such cases the Hebrew and Greek idioms were to be printed in the margin. Words, not found in the original but necessary to complete the sense, were to be printed in italics. Each book and chapter was to be headed by a brief synopsis of its contents. The only marginal notes permitted were to be of a textual and explanatory character; all theological discussions were to be avoided. After ripe deliberation it was resolved also to translate the Apocrypha of the Old Testament and to admit them to the printed volume of the Scriptures, but in a place by themselves and printed in different type, so that no one could mistake their character. It was further resolved, in the twelfth session, to request the central government to finance the undertaking.

It was decided to commit the work to six translators, three for the Old Testament and three for the New Testament, whose work was to be revised by two redactors to be chosen from each province and in case of the death or disability of any of the translators, the one who had after him the greatest number of votes in the General Synod, was to succeed him, whilst the provinces were to elect new redactors in place of the original ones, who might die or become disabled. Four years were set apart for the completion of the task, if possible, but accuracy and fidelity, rather than haste, were advised. The translators were to report every three months to the States-General on the progress of the work (Session XI). An interesting discussion arose in the Twelfth Session as to whether the unity of God demanded that in addresses to the Lord the second person singular of the personal pronoun—"Du"—should be used or the commonly used plural term—"Ghy"—. The latter was decided on. Also whether the name Jehovah was to be retained, or the translation—"Heere"—used. The latter was ordered. It was further decided that all proper names were to be transliterated, as had been done in former trans-

lations. The old divisions into chapters and verses were to be retained as far as possible. The matter of chronologies was deemed to lie beyond the sphere of the translators; but an index or register was to be added to the translation, containing a reliable rendering of the Hebrew names.

In the Thirteenth Session, the six translators were elected. Johannes Bogerman, minister of Leeuwarden and president of the General Synod, Guilhelmus Baudartius, minister at Zutphen and Gerson Bucerus, minister at Vere, were elected for the Old Testament. For the New Testament were elected Jacobus Rolandus, minister at Amsterdam, Hermanus Faukelius, minister at Middleburg, and Petrus Cornelli, minister at Enkhuizen. In the same Session the various provinces elected their revisers or redactors. It is a remarkable fact and a witness to the scholarship of the Dutch ministry of the period that the Synod of Dordt elected for the responsible task of translating the Scriptures from the original tongue, men from among the ranks of the ministry, rather than professional scholars. The six translators were all ministers of parishes, in active service, and among the redactors from all the provinces were only four professors. Any one familiar with the history of the Dutch Republic, in examining the list of redactors, will see that two of the provinces, Utrecht and Drenthe, are omitted. The ministry of the first was almost wholly Remonstrant, and on that account the delegates of the province requested that they might be excused till the ecclesiastical question in their borders was fully settled. The representatives of the Synod of Drenthe seem originally to have appointed their quota of redactors, but apparently requested the very next day (Nov. 27.) that their election might be made inoperative "because the Dutch tongue was not very well known in their country."⁶ Quite a controversy arose later on about this matter. On the one hand it is a fact that no such request is found in the *Acta* of the Fourteenth Session of the Synod of Dordt. In the *Acta* of the Thirteenth and Four-

* Ypey en Dermout, ii. p. 357; Brandt, *Hist. der Ref.*, ii. pp. 53 f.

teenth Sessions all mention of the province of Drenthe fails. It may however have been in the journal of the day; the *Acta* stand only for the final acts of the Synod. Moreover the fact remains that Drenthe had its own peculiar dialect, which was akin to that of the provinces of Gelderland and Overisel and formed a branch of the Low-Rhenish speech, growing cruder as it proceeded Eastward, till in the dukedom of Benthem it merged itself into the Low Saxon. An eloquent witness to the incompetency of the ministry of Drenthe to assist in the translation of the Dutch Bible is found in the report of their delegates to the General Synod, rendered to the Synod of Drenthe April 7, 1619, still preserved, and written in a barbarous and scarcely readable Dutch.⁷

At last the work seemed to be started in earnest and under a far more hopeful star than ever before; and yet eighteen years were still to elapse before its completion. The request of the General Synod for the authorization of the work and for the financing of it by the States-General was laid on the table of their "High-Mightinesses" and was quietly ignored. Great bodies have ever moved slowly. Both the States and the Church, immediately after the adjournment of the Synod of Dordt, were more than occupied with their own immediately pressing affairs. The "Twelve-Years Truce" with Spain was practically ended and the resumption of the tedious war was certain. The Bible translation seemed once more forgotten.

A last desperate effort was, however, made. The promoters of the project, which had always met, and was still confronted with, widespread secret opposition, made a final appeal, through the Synods of North and South Holland, to the deputies *ad hoc* of the General Synod, and these in turn to the States-General, which finally approved of the plan April 11, 1624, and called a special preliminary meeting of the translators and revisers, at the Hague, May 22, 1625. Faukelius and Cornelli had meanwhile died and in their stead appeared Anthonius Walaeus and Festius Hom-

⁷ Ypey en Dermout, *Aanteekeningen*, ii. p. 416.

nius, the one Professor in the University of Leyden, the other one of the ministers of that place. After some further delays the States ordered all the translators to settle down at Leyden, during the term of their labors. Bogerman came almost at once, November, 1625, Baudartius in April, 1626, Bucerus not till the early fall of that year, whilst Rolandus did not arrive till 1628. The reasons for these delays lay mainly in the refusal of the consistories of the various churches to allow their pastors to intermit their ministry for an indefinite and probably very lengthy period, for the common good of all the churches. Human nature in the Seventeenth and in the Twentieth centuries is the same. Each of the translators retained the stipend of his own church but, besides that, the States-General paid them each nine hundred florins, as a special honorarium, with two hundred florins extra for a secretary and a smaller sum for incidental expenses. This was for that time princely treatment and compares very favorably with the treatment accorded the English translators. In England the bishops were informed that the King would have defrayed the expense of the translation "but his lordes did not holde it conuenient." In Holland, with a devastating and expensive war before them, the States-General hesitated indeed but, having once set their hands to the plow, held them there right royally. In England the King took the initiative, in Holland the Church. In England the Church and the printer were burdened with the expense, and the provision made was unworthy of a great King and a great land; in Holland the State assumed the burden, of its own free will, at the request of the Church, and did it in such a way that even to this late day the reading of the record of their liberality is a source of pride to every loyal Dutchman.

The hesitancy of the States to authorize the new translation was due in part, as has been above indicated, to the political complications which menaced them. But this hesitancy was of long standing and extended, as we have seen, to the entire period, in which the matter had been under discussion. The Churchmen themselves were very

much divided. Some opposition to the new version was occasioned by men, "who themselves would have wished to have been selected for the great honor, obstinate obstructionists, who were accustomed to call nothing good but what they did themselves."⁸ Men like Hugh Broughton in England. But the main opposition arose from the struggle between the ecclesiastical factions. The so-called Strong Calvinists, belonging to the Leycester faction, were opposed by the avowed Arminians; and between them stood the faction of the Moderates, the so-called Zwinglian Calvinists, with an Arminian leaning. Naturally appointments pleasing to one faction would be decried by the others, and nothing of importance could be done till the ecclesiastical struggle was finally settled in favor of one of the factions. This took place only after 1618-1619, when by the execution of the decrees of Dordt the pronounced Calvinistic faction gained a complete victory and the work could authoritatively proceed. This also explains why men like Drusius, the great Semitic scholar, professor of the university of Franeker, who drew students from all European countries to the little Frisian town, was not recognized in the enterprise. He had been engaged on the recommendation of the Arminian leaders, at the expense of the province of Friesland, in the painstaking labors of annotating the Old Testament, a task for which he was admirably fitted. Yet his *Ad loca difficiliora Geneseos, Exodi, Levitici, Numerorum, Deuteronomii, Josuae, Judicum, et Samuelis librorum commentarii libri sive notae*, published by Amama at Franeker in 1617 and 1618 were not utilized, so far as we know, in any way by the translators.

The Old Testament committee began its work on the 13th of November. Bogerman was elected chairman, Baudartius clerk, of the committee, whilst Bucerus took on himself the translation of specially difficult passages. For the book of Genesis they utilized the nearly completed earlier work of Marnix van Aldegonde, and this part of the task was completed in a few meetings. For their later labors

⁸ Amama, *Boekzaal der Ned. Bybels door Le Long*, p. 783.

they divided the book in hand into three parts and then compared and criticized these separate translations in their meetings, till they had worked them into a thoroughly homogeneous whole. Some outside help was freely given. Thus Jodocus Van Laren, of Vlissingen, voluntarily translated the book of Job and later on the book of Daniel, and submitted these labors to the Committee.⁹ By the 8th of June, 1629, the Pentateuch was printed and in the hands of the redactors. Meanwhile Rolandus, Walaeus and Hommius had completed the gospel of Matthew with its annotations in 1628. Their method of operation differed from that adopted by the Old Testament Committee. Each man translated the whole of every book, and this was then submitted to the entire Committee for comparison and criticism. By 1631 they had translated up to II Corinthians when for a little while the entire work was suspended. In that year both Rolandus and Bucerus died; a severe blow to both Committees. Some trouble was experienced in finding new translators, when the remaining four consented to labor on, two by two, and thus to finish the work. A year later the Old Testament Committee had completed its task, and the revisers or redactors were bidden to come to Leyden. The various churches released them with more or less grace and they finished their labors in 1634, each one of them receiving an honorarium of four florins per diem over and above his regular salary. By the end of the same year the New Testament Committee was ready and the New Testament revisers arrived, and completed their task by the 10th of October, 1635. Whilst they were at work a violent pestilence ravaged the city, sweeping away in a few weeks twenty thousand of its inhabitants. These consistent Calvinists, however, continued their labors undaunted, without the loss or even the illness of one of their number, although on some days more than 100 people died. The completed work was presented to the States-General and every one of the revisers received a special honorarium, over and above their previously mentioned stipend, whilst the

⁹ Hinlopen, pp. 101 f.

translators received each 500 florins, Bogerman alone receiving 1000.¹⁰

At the beginning of their work, the translators had spent several months in agreeing on an analogical system of spelling, to be followed in the translation. Various traditions regarding this feature of the work have come down to us, but without any fixed historical basis or value. The only assured fact is the agreement of the translators on a fixed spelling. Beyond that we know practically nothing at all of the matter. Where did they get their plan? Who was their guide and special adviser? No one can tell us with any assurance. But the translators did an inestimable service to the Dutch tongue by this feature of their labors. What the Lutheran version of the Bible did for the German tongue and what the "Authorized" version of 1611 did for the English tongue, that and more was done by the Staten-Bybel for the language of the Lowlands. It unified the Dutch language and accomplished more than any other agency, in establishing the character of the tongue common to all the provinces of the Netherlands. The Staten-Bybel received its name from the formal authorization of the new version by the States-General, June 29, 1637. It was printed, under an exclusive privilege, by Pauwels Aartsoon van Ravenstein, from the house of the widow and heirs of Hildebrand Jacobszoon van Wouw, at Leyden. The long patience of sixty-six years was rewarded at last and the translation of the Scriptures from the originals into Dutch had been accomplished. In the authorization, published as an introduction in all the older editions of the Dutch Bible, the States, somewhat at variance with the historical facts, claim the honor of having inaugurated the project and of having instructed the Synod of Dordt to that end. But whatever their part in the inauguration of the movement, they had abundant reason to be proud of their "authorization." The Dutch Staten-Bybel is a noble rendering of the Scriptures.

Like the "Authorized" English version of 1611, the

¹⁰ Hinlopen, p. 167.

Dutch Staten-Bybel had to make its way in the face of great opposition. The Arminians—eloquent testimony to the impartiality of the translators and annotators—almost immediately accepted and used it in their worship. Episcopius, their leader, gave it preference above the old version.¹¹ Intelligent pastors and church-members everywhere received the new version with great cordiality. But the masses of the people viewed it with suspicion, as a "work of men;" and their prejudice was well nigh invincible. The States-General had wisely left the introduction of the new translation to the various provincial governments. With quiet patience and undeniable tact, the various political and ecclesiastical bodies coöperated to this end and the new Bible was practically in general use within a period of a dozen years after its publication. This was all the more remarkable when we remember that it took the "Authorized Version" in England forty years to attain this standing. The bitterest opposition centred in Amsterdam, the chief city of the land; the remote country districts, as might be expected, were the last to swing in line; for instance some places in Gelderland did not do so till 1652.¹²

As in the case of the English version of 1611 the appearance of the Dutch Staten-Bybel opened the floodgates of criticism. The translators were accused of having made too liberal a use of some of the German and other continental translations. That of Piscator was named with special emphasis.¹³ They had been ordered to follow the older Dutch translation as far as practicable. They had done so, as is evident especially in the New Testament.¹⁴ Yet this was charged against them as a flagrant breach of duty. They were accused of too great literalness,¹⁵ although they had been ordered to make a literal translation. They were charged with being too oriental, their traducers forgetting

¹¹ *Instit. Theol.*, lib. iv. sec. 1, cap. 21.

¹² Ypey en Dermout, ii. *Aant.*, p. 263.

¹³ D. Gerdes, *Miscell. Groning.*, iv. p. 672.

¹⁴ Ypey en Dermout, ii. p. 374.

¹⁵ *Idem*, p. 375.

that they had to deal with oriental thoughts and idioms which cannot be translated in occidental terms or dressed in a Western garb. Hugh Broughton in England had his imitators in Holland, men who lashed the translators unmercifully and endeavored to fix on them the stigma of ineffable ignorance and stupidity. Broughton said that "he would rather be torn in pieces by wild horses than recommend the English translation of 1611 to the churches;" but Julius Steginga wrote a bitter criticism of the mistakes of the Dutch translators, citing innumerable passages, in the Pentateuch alone, to prove his querulous contention. His name like that of Broughton is rescued from oblivion almost alone by this bitter tirade. And yet the Staten-Bybel survived all these attacks and gained strength and influence as it became more generally known. All opposition ceased after a while and it became the people's book, it may almost be said, their idol.

In rhythm and swing and force and stateliness of language it reminds one strangely of the "Authorized" English version. It was produced at the very threshold of the golden age of Dutch letters; in fact it may be said to have inaugurated this period and, as in the case of the contemporaneous English version, it bequeathed to the coming generations a marvelously strong and expressive example of a tongue, that had but just found out its own strength and sweetness, a tongue that was entirely free from the artificiality and effeminateness of later days. It moulded the thinking of the entire nation; it penetrated the very marrow of their bones and became so intimately identified with Dutch literature and history, as to become bone of its bone and flesh of its flesh. Individual and associated efforts have been made to replace the Staten-Bybel with a new version, but without any success. Verbal revisions have been made from time to time to correct antiquated words and forms of spelling; but such labors have been expended merely on the bark of the ancient tree and have never touched its living tissue. The Dutch believer loves the old Bible next to his God and Saviour, and is not rarely in great danger

of becoming a bibliolater. The reverence for the Bible of 1637 became so great that "many illiterate people ascribed to it no less value than the Roman Catholics do to their Vulgate." And even learned people have slipped into this error. Thus Maresius, Professor at Groningen is said to have taught the infallibility of the version of 1637; and Anthonius Perizonius, professor of theology at Deventer is reported to have been accused of heresy because he had taught and defended a contrary view.¹⁶

The value of the Dutch Bible is best seen perhaps by comparing the English "Authorized" Bible with it. Both are among the very best translations of the Scriptures ever made; both have a swing and force which appeals to the hearts of their readers; both have a glorious history and have exerted an inestimable influence. But on a critical study of the two, the balance dips toward the Dutch version. It seems almost as if the criticisms, which ultimately gave to the English speaking world the English and the American Revisions, were as old as the seventeenth century and as if the Dutch translators of 1637 had been guided by them. In an astonishing percentage of cases the changes in the "authorized" English versions of 1611 proposed by the recent revisions were anticipated by the Dutch translators.

In support of this contention, I confine myself wholly to revisions of the "authorized" English version proposed in the New Testament field. The criticisms on the "Authorized version," presented in Condit's *History of the English Bible* p. 345 or in Dr. Alexander Roberts' illuminating little volume *Companion to the Revised Version of the English New Testament* pp. 75-135 may be adduced as examples. They are very plain and very pertinent, pertaining to the correction of mistakes in the meaning of Greek words, of mistakes in Greek grammar; or archaisms, ambiguities and faulty rendering of proper names; of the unnecessary confounding of one Greek word with another and of needless variation in the rendering of the same Greek word. Let us look at these in their order.

¹⁶ Ypey en Dermout, ii. *Aunt.*, p. 437.

1. *Mistakes in the meaning of Greek words.* I take but a few of many examples, in which the Dutch version gives the true rendering demanded by our American revisers. Mt. x 4 and Mk iii 18 ὁ Καναναῖος, "Simon the Canaanite" (E) "S. Canaanitis" (D) Mt xxvi 15 ἐσθησαν, "covenanted" (E), "toegelegd" (D). Mk iv 29 παραδοῖ "is brought forth" (E), "zich voordoet" (D). Other passages are Rom iii 25, xi 7, 25; 1 Cor iv 4, Eph iv 29, Phil iv 2, 3; 1 Tim vi 5, Heb xi 13, 1 Pet iii 21. In Rev iv 6, 7, 8, 9; v 6, 8, etc., ζῶον, the English throughout has "beasts," the Dutch the generic term "dieren." In all of these passages the Dutch text wholly or largely conforms to the later criticisms of the English text of 1611.

2. *Mistakes in Greek grammar.* Mt ii 4 "Christ" (E) "de Christus" (D); 2 Thess ii 3 "that man of sin" (E), "de mensch der zonde" (D); 1 Tim vi 10 "the root" (E), "een wortel" (D); 2 Cor iii 15 "the veil" (E), "een deksel" (D); Jn i 21 "that prophet" (E), "de profet" (D); 2 Cor iii 17 "that spirit" (E), "de geest" (D). Jas v 20 and 1 Pet iv 8 the Greek verb is translated "hide" and "cover" (E), in both cases "bedekken" (D). Mt. iii 14 διεκώλυεν translated "forbad" (E), "weigerde zeer" (D), indicating the strenuousness of John's opposition. 2 Cor v 10 φανερωθῆναι translated "appear" (E), not bringing out the passive force of the verb; "geopenbaard worden" (D), exactly anticipating the criticism of the revisers.

3. *Archaisms, ambiguities and the misuse of proper names.* In so far as these criticisms of the revisers touch the peculiar genius of the English tongue and are of a philological character, as a matter of course no comparison is possible. But in regard to the use of proper names especially in the Old Testament it may be said that the Dutch translation is practically free from the errors, charged in this respect against the English translators of 1611. Names, except when the text absolutely requires it, are always given in the same way.

4. *Confounding Greek words in translating them.* Jn x 16 αὐλή, ποιμνὴ "fold" (E), "stal," "kudde" (D); Jn i 11 τὰ ἴδια, οἱ ἴδιοι, "his own" (E); "het zyne," "de zynen" (D); Lk xv 10 μετανοοῦντι "repenteth" (E), "zich bekeert" (D). Jn vii 17 again literally anticipates the criticisms of the revisers, as do nearly all the loci here mentioned. The translation of the words σημεῖον and τέρας throughout the Dutch version is "teekenen" or "wonderen" or "wonderheden;" whilst δυνάμεις Mt xiv 2 and Mk vi 14 translated "mighty works" (E), is correctly translated "krachten" in Dutch. ὄχλος, Jn vii 20, is translated "people" in English; whilst the Dutch, with finer acumen, translates "schare," the mass of the people as distinct from the leaders. Mt xxviii 19, 20, the great command, in English has the words "teach" and "teaching" whilst the Dutch translates διδάσκω and μαθητεύω "onderwyzen" and "leeren." The translation of Jas i 6 is again, in the Dutch version, a complete anticipation of the criticisms of the revisers against the "authorized" version; the same is true of Rom xii 2. In the translation of the words κρίνω, κρίμα, κρίσις, ἀνακρίνω, διακρίνω, κατακρίνω the Dutch translators never fall into the error of their English brethren, but they translate "oordeel," "oordeelen," "veroordeelen," entirely in line with later criticisms.

5. *Needless variation in the translation of the same word.* Here again the Dutch is far in advance of the English translation. Thus 1 Cor iii 17 φθείρει "defile" "destroy" (E), "schenden" (D); Mk xv 33 γῆν and Lk xxiii 44 γῆν translated "land" and "earth" (E), "aarde" in both cases (D). Rev. iv 4 θρόνος "throne" "seats" (E), "troonen" (D); Mt xxv 46 αἰώνιος "everlasting" "eternal" (E), "eeuwig" (D). In Rom iv λογίζομαι is found eleven times and the English translators render it twice "count," thrice "reckon," six times "impute;" the Dutch uniformly translate "rekenen." Again in Rom vii 7-8 the English translate ἐπιθυμία "lust" "covet," the Dutch "begeerlykheid" "begeeren," using the same root form. In

2 Cor ii 16 the English translate *ικανός* "sufficient," in 2 Cor ii 6 "able;" here again the Dutch literally anticipate the criticism of the revisers and translate "bekwaam," "bekwaam maken" in both cases. 1 Tim vi 12 *ὁμολογία* translated in English "profession,"* v 13 "confession;" the Dutch in both cases reads "belydenis."

It is little wonder that the Dutch have been proud of their Bible. In many particulars it bears a strong likeness to the later English revisions, whilst it lacks their angularity and martinet-like precision. I may be permitted here to relate an anecdote, told me as a personal experience by a young Dutch scholar in this country, who was cut off in the height of his promise. When he was studying for his Ph.D. degree, in one of our most renowned universities, the professor in Hebrew one day propounded to the class a crux in the translation of a passage in Malachi. Rolling the intended surprise of his pet translation as a sweet morsel under his tongue, he passed the text from student to student and of course asked in vain for the translation he sought. He came to my Dutch friend, who happened to have his Dutch Bible at his elbow. Glancing at it, he gave a literal translation of the Dutch text as his answer. The professor, in a passion, accused him before the class of having examined his notes, claiming that he alone, in all the land, knew this translation. Stung by this wanton attack, the student, lifting his Dutch Bible said, "Sir, my Dutch ancestors knew that translation as early as 1637." A proud moment, in a small way, for the old Dutch version. I would urge everyone who is conversant with the two languages, to follow out more in detail the comparative critical study of the two versions, and I am sure he will meet with many surprises. The critical material at hand, was about the same in the case of the English and the Dutch translators.¹⁷ Of all the translations of the Scriptures, from the

¹⁷ The Critical Apparatus of the Dutch Translators was in the main identical with that of the English Revisers of 1611 who say in the preface:

"If you aske what they had before them, truely it was the Hebrew

original languages, in the Reformation and Post-reformation period, the Dutch stands at the head for faithfulness of rendering and for critical acumen. It is all in all a remarkable monument to the erudition of the Dutch ministry of the seventeenth century.

To the original documents of the Bible translation of 1637, unlike those of the King James version, almost idolatrous reverence was paid. They were collected with painstaking care, as had been those of the earlier national Synods.

text of the Olde Testament, the Greek of the New. Neither did wee thinke much to consult the translators or commentators, Chaldee, Hebrew, Syriac, Greeke or Latine, no nor the Spanish, French, Italian, and Dutch. Neither did wee disdaine to revise that which wee had done, to bring back to the anuill, that which wee had hammered."

They had before them the Hebrew and Greek texts of the Scriptures. The knowledge of these languages was indeed the chief condition of the selection of the committee. But what were the original texts at hand when the translation of 1637 was made? And what texts did they use? (Condit: *History of the English Bible*, 339.) As was the case with the translators of the Bishops' Bible, they had the Latin translation of the Hebrew Bible by Sanctes Pagninus of 1527, in which the author had endeavored to give an absolutely idiomatic translation of the original. Arias Montanus had revised this work in 1572, in the Antwerp Polyglott. The Muenster Latin Translation of the Hebrew text, 1534-35, which was highly praised for its literalness, was also at hand. Also that of Leo Juda of 1544 and that of Castalio of 1551, which evidently had some weight with the English translators, yet was wholly unworthy of it. (*Idem*, 340.) Finally, the text of Tremellius, a converted Jew, of 1579. They had the French translation of 1587-88, the Italian by Diodati, of 1607; the Spanish versions of Enzena, published at Amsterdam, 1543 (N. T.); of Reynal, 1569, and of Valera, of 1602. Besides they had the Lutheran version, which by that time had appeared in countless editions.

As to the originals, they had Soncino's Hebrew Bible of 1488, Bomberg's great edition of the Hebrew Bible of 1518, 1525-26, 1547-49, characterized by Adam Clark as "the most correct and the most valuable Hebrew Bible ever published." Moreover, they had the text of the Complutensian Polyglott of Cardinal Ximenes of 1522, the Antwerp Polyglott of Christopher Plantin and Arias Montanus of 1572. This for the Hebrew text. For the Greek they had the text of Erasmus 1516, 1519, 1527, 1535; those of the above Complutensians; that of Stephens, 1550, a critical review of the text of Erasmus, built on the readings of some sixteen new manuscripts. And this edition of Stephens was chiefly used by the English revisers of 1611. They had also the texts of Beza, 1565 and 1589.

The latter had been practically lost in 1593, but when the historic sense asserted itself, they were re-collected, as far as possible, in 1620, and locked in a chest, which was kept at Delft. The manuscripts of the Dortrechian Synod were now added to them, with the exception of those of the *Post-Acta*, which in some unaccountable way were lost.¹⁸ A carefully prepared index was made and the whole was deposited in 1625 in a strong chest with eight locks, with the order that every three years this chest was to be opened, and the contents examined as indexed, lest any of them should be lost.¹⁹ On these occasions, one of the ministers of Delft was to open the chest in the presence of two delegates of the Synod of South Holland, and thus the examination was made. The magistrates of the city were also present and assisted in the function. Thus it continued till 1640 when the chest was transported to the Hague. Meanwhile the autographs of the Bible-translation had been preserved in a similar chest, and in 1641 the *Commission on the Autographa* was created, consisting of two ministers of each provincial Synod. This large commission with two delegates of the States-General met every three years at the Hague, to examine the Dordtrechian autographs and those of the Bible-translation. But since the manuscripts of the Bible translation were kept at Leyden, two days were spent in this work. It was a ceremonious and dignified function, conducted with all the pomp of the seventeenth century, and those old Dutchmen loved pomp with all their hearts. This minute examination continued till 1794, when it was abolished by the Revolution, which engulfed the Dutch Republic, like a gigantic whirlpool, and made an end of its glory.

What finally became of the autographs—whether they were destroyed or scattered or whether they are still in existence in the Dutch archives or among the treasures of the Leyden library—I am not informed. But the work

¹⁸ As to the fate of the manuscripts of these *Post-Acta* see the interesting discussion in Ypey en Dermout. *G.D.C. N.H.K.*, ii. *Aant.*, p. 460.

¹⁹ *Acta Syn. Z. Holl.*, 1625, 1628, 1629.

of the translators of 1637 abides. The wonderful growth of modern Biblical science, the inestimable increase in critical apparatus since the Dutch Staten-Bybel was printed, will ultimately make a competent revision, even of this excellent version of the Scriptures desirable and inevitable. But that time has not yet come. As we have seen, the Dutch translation has anticipated very many of the just criticisms, which finally compelled the English speaking world to revise the King James Bible of 1611. Those who in Holland of late years have sought to inaugurate the work of revision or retranslation, are not the men to whom Bible-loving Dutchmen could venture to entrust it. Accordingly their labor has been only academic without national significance. The Staten-Bybel of 1637 is still the national Bible and the people's treasure, and will unquestionably hold that position for many years to come.

Louisville, Ky.

HENRY E. DOSKER.

REVIEWS OF RECENT LITERATURE

PHILOSOPHICAL LITERATURE.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE ARISTOTELIAN SOCIETY. New Series.—Vol. XI.
Containing the Papers read before the Society during the Thirty-
Second Session, 1910-1911. 8vo, pp. 234. Published by Williams
and Norgate, 14 Henrietta Street, Covent Garden, London, W. C.
1911. Price Ten Shillings and Sixpence net.

The following is the list of the subjects and authors of these
papers:

- I.—Self as Subject and as Person. By S. Alexander.
- II.—On a Defect in the Customary Logical Formulation of Induc-
tive Reasoning. By Bernard Bosanquet.
- III.—The Standpoint of Psychology. By Benjamin Dumville.
- IV.—Reality and Value. By H. D. Oakeley.
- V.—Knowledge by Acquaintance and Knowledge by Description.
By Bertrand Russell.
- VI.—The Theory of Psycho-physical Parallelism as a Working
Hypothesis in Psychology. By H. Wildon Carr.
- VII.—Error. By C. S. Schiller.
- VIII.—A New Law of Thought. By E. E. Constance Jones.
- IX.—The Object of Thought and Real Being. By G. F. Stout.
- X.—Emotionality: A Method of its Unification. By Alfred Calde-
cott.

Higher praise, and praise more nearly just, could scarcely be given
to this series of papers than that, both as philosophy and literature, they
would seem to be up to the standard of former years, and in addition
to this, to discuss topics even more timely.

Princeton.

WILLIAM BRENTON GREENE, JR.

THE AUTHORITY OF MIGHT AND RIGHT. By A. v. C. P. HUIZINGA,
Author of "Belief in a Personal God", "The American Philosophy,
Pragmatism", etc. 8vo, pp. 40. Boston: Sherman, French &
Company. 1911

This is a brief and fragmentary, but scholarly and suggestive and
very vigorous discussion of a most important subject. Mr. Huizinga
champions the doctrine of the absoluteness of the right with learning
and acumen such as, it would seem, the most doughty pragmatist
could neither gainsay nor resist.

Princeton.

WILLIAM BRENTON GREENE, JR.

APOLOGETICAL THEOLOGY.

CHRISTIAN FAITH AND THE NEW PSYCHOLOGY, Evolution and Recent Science as Aid to Faith. By DAVID A. MURRAY, D.D., Late Principal of the Osaka Theological Training School, Author of "Atoms and Energies", etc. 8vo, pp. 384. New York, Chicago, Toronto, London and Edinburgh: Fleming H. Revell Company. 1911.

"Dr. Murray may be classed among the mediators between modern thought and evangelical theology. Evolution and the New Psychology are to him not sources of difficulty as a Christian thinker, but aids to faith. He shows that the supernatural element in the Christian religion, including revelation, miracles, prayer and the incarnation, are not only not contrary to the evolutionary scheme of nature, but necessary corollaries of the acceptance of evolution. This is a way of dealing with modern thought which startles by its unfamiliarity, and rouses the query whether the author is able to sustain his thesis. A careful examination of his argument will leave no doubt in the mind of the reader that he does so adequately, even amply. It is one of the most original and stimulating books in the field of Christian apologetics published within several years."

This criticism has been quoted at length from the "Continent" because there could not be a better presentation of the purpose of this striking work. The critic is correct, too, in his judgment as to the originality and the stimulating character of the book. Even when dealing with material that has been often worked over the method of the author, and particularly his illustrations, are his own; and from the first to the last page his argument has a clearness and force which are remarkable.

Of the highest value is Part I, "God and Nature"; and if we may particularize within this section, the chapter on the "Theological Argument". "The problem of creation" writes Dr. Murray, "as science sees it, is not to account for the existence of matter and energies, for that is conceded impracticable, but to account for the great process of progressive activity beginning,—that is to say beginning at just the point of time to bring it to the present condition at the present time. The act that the spirit of man does in volition is an act on a small scale of precisely the same character, namely, starting a train of activity. This, therefore, shows what kind of an agency would be capable of doing that kind of a thing. It, therefore, shows what kind of an agency 'the First Cause' must have been."

In like manner, he summarizes his discussion of the teleological argument as follows: "Things have become what they are because of their environment, at least in part. They have run into it and been moulded by it, as the melted metal is shaped by the mould into which it runs. But where did that mould come from? There is the argument and the significant evidence of teleology. Only by the coöperating and co-ordinating of hundreds of diverse conditions has this evolved product been made possible. A slight change only in any one of these hundreds

of conditions would have rendered the high result impossible. How does it come that just the right selection and arrangement of conditions was furnished? There is the real proof of design."

Interesting and valuable, too, because based on adequate knowledge and exceedingly cautious, in the main, is Dr. Murray's use of the new psychology. In the direct transference of thought through the medium of the subconscious mind he sees what might explain the phenomena of prophecy and of inspiration; and in the numerous and well attested cases of "the appearance" of double self-consciousness and even of multiple personality he would find, "not an explanation but a parallel of" the two natures in Christ and of "the plurality in God's manifestations." We must confess that we cannot follow him in these two latter cases. The person of our Lord seems to us without parallel; and it is not his double consciousness, but the union in him of the divine and the human which makes it so. The Trinity impresses us as without analogy; and it is not that God manifests himself in three distinct modes, but that "one and the very same substance of the Godhead can subsist as an undivided whole in three persons simultaneously" that renders it so. We ought, however, to add that it does not seem strange to us that one who has gathered and weighed the great mass of evidence which Dr. Murray has presented in his elaborate appendices should find more in it than we can; and we are glad to admit that, though the new psychology does not parallel for us the mystery surrounding the person of our Lord and the Trinity, yet it may be used very effectively to silence those who pronounce either impossible or self-contradictory. To say that our author has brought out as much as this is to give him high praise.

And here we wish that we might arrest this review. Truth, however, compels us to go on and say that Dr. Murray does not succeed when he attempts to make evangelical theology "a necessary corollary of evolution." He fails in two respects:

1. He is obliged so to modify evolution that it becomes quite another thing from the hypothesis that passes by that name and with which the modern world is so familiar. What we take exception to, is not that he regards evolution as "the systematic, continuous operating of divine activity as truly as all my bodily acts, though purely mechanical processes, are the acts of *me*, a directing spirit". Under the subject of "God and Nature" he has shown this to be the necessary, if not the general, conception of evolution and so he is entitled to argue from it. What we do take exception to is that he regards evolution as leading up to and culminating in divine acts, such as miracles, etc. that are only or simply personal as well as truly personal—that is, acts that are personal interventions in the mechanical or natural process. "The evolution theory itself," he says, "demands that such acts be done": for as it from the first contemplates a new biological species or man capable of fellowship with God, and as fellowship with him presupposes such simply personal acts toward men on God's part, and as at every upward step nature hitherto has provided the facilities for

making that step possible; so it "would be a break in the uniformity of nature," if in "the fullness of time" these strictly personal interventions on God's part did not appear. Now all this is true and it is fine, but is it evolution as commonly understood? Does not our author suppose that the offense of the personal intervention of God in nature is wholly removed if only the intervention can be shown to have entered into the divine plan from the beginning, whereas the essential motive of the theory of evolution has been to get rid of such interventions altogether? In a word, has he not confused evolution with what Dr. Shedd so eloquently describes in the beginning of his "History of Christian Doctrine" and which he has so appropriately called Development? But is it fair to do this? No more than others, do scientists like to have it noised abroad that their distinctive position has been captured when what has been taken is a position that is very different and that never was theirs. In a word, what our author has proved is that the hypothesis of evolution must give way to the doctrine of development, and the very thing that he has failed to prove is that the Christian system is "a necessary corollary of the hypothesis of evolution".

2. Were all this not so, however, his argument breaks down in a much more important respect. The system which he regards as a necessary corollary of evolution is not evangelical in the sense of biblical theology. Only some of the respects in which this is so may be noted:

a. "The natural genesis of conscience." All moral ideas, as right, obligation, punishment are evolved "necessarily out of self-seeking desire as the central, dominant characteristic of our nature." That is, the whole moral life is dominated by movement rather than by law. This means that the essence of morality is progress toward perfection. When, then, perfection shall have been attained morality must cease. In other words its perfection will be its annihilation. In heaven, therefore, we shall be no longer moral; for we shall be perfect, inasmuch as we shall be like Christ. He, too, and, of course, God as such can not be moral; for in them evolution is inconceivable: and so we are brought to the absurdity that he whose nature is the seat of authority in morals cannot himself be moral. How unscriptural as well as unreasonable such a conception must be it is surely unnecessary to pause to show. "Ye shall be holy; for I am holy" (Lev. xi:14),—this is the demonstration of it.

b. The consequently low view of sin. Sin is not, as John says, "the transgression of the law" (I John III:4). It is a necessary incident of evolution. "It is an incompleteness as yet in a progressing work. It is, so to speak, the chip not yet chiselled out of the statue being formed,—the astringency of the unripe fruit. Indeed, many of the things we call sins are acts that at some time in the history of development have been to the progenitors of man, not wrong but normal and acts that were right and necessary to their highest progress. They are wrong now because man has advanced to a higher plane of being"

(p. 122). But do you not see that, on this supposition, they can not even now be wrong in any deep sense? They must lose their character as moral evils. They are anachronisms rather than sins. At all events, though they may retard, they cannot arrest the development of the race. Can such a view be squared with that of him who wrote of us as "dead through trespasses and sins"?

c. The purpose of the incarnation. As might be supposed from our author's low view of sin, the incarnation is not conceived as having its occasion in sin. It was not voluntary and for redemption. To think thus is "wrong and unfortunate. It would be more nearly a true conception to consider the 'Atonement' a necessary result or incident of the Incarnation. At any rate the Incarnation, or revelation of God by himself in human form, is a great primary fact in itself, and the reasons for its occurrence would have just as inevitably brought it about if there had been no sin and no cause for 'Atonement'. In fact it is the 'Incarnation' itself, that is, the self-revealing and fellowship offered by God to men, that is the fundamental purpose and object, not some teaching to be conveyed or other work to be done through that as a means. The teaching effected and even the Atonement are merely to be classed as 'incidents accompanying' that great act. To use a term employed in human enterprises, they might almost be compared to what is classed as 'by-products'" (p. 238). How does this teaching, however, square with that "faithful saying, and worthy of all acceptance", and the many like it, that "Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners" (I Tim. I:15)?

d. The nature of the atonement. Right having been resolved into progressiveness, sin having been reduced to incompleteness, and redemption having been made a by-product of the incarnation, it does not surprise us to be told, that what Christ bore on the cross was not "the wrath of God for the sin of the world", but that it was the pain of his own love for men as sinners. That is, Dr. Murray does not believe in any atonement. Love was necessary. Love by itself can save and must save. Forgiveness results from the very character of God. Sin caused the suffering of the death of Christ, but his death was not on account of sin. It was only "a natural incident and inevitable consequence of the incarnation. It was simply to enable us to see and so be influenced by the love that always existed in the nature of God" (p. 334). It is not for us to point out the glaring inconsistencies in this position, or even to show how by making God's love necessary rather than voluntary in its expression it robs it of its true meaning and glory. We may simply remark that if this be the Gospel, then it is another Gospel than that which Christ preached and which his church has felt herself commissioned to give to the world. But it is time to end this already too long discussion. We may merely remark in closing it that our author's rooted objection to what is certainly the biblical, and in so far forth the evangelical theology, is the direct consequence of his acceptance of evolution as the universal dynamic law, the one all-embracing mode of divine procedure. When

so conceived—and unless so conceived it becomes something essentially different—there can be no peace or truce between it and the Gospel. According to the latter, right ought to dominate evolution, but is not the product of it; sin is not a step in its onward progress, but arrests and diverts it; the incarnation is not a necessary and culminating result of evolution, but the voluntary coming down of God into it to save it; the atonement is not the inevitable consequence of the divine nature, but the most glorious, because the freest, expression of God's grace. From the rational standpoint it may relieve the evolution hypothesis to combine with it the doctrines of the divine immanence and the divine predestination as Dr. Murray does, but that can not make the Gospel a "necessary corollary" of it or even harmonize it with the Gospel. The latter presupposes also the divine transcendence. Its God is over the world as well as in it; his plan is independent of evolution as well as comprehensive of it; while ordinarily he works in and through and consistently with nature, which he has himself created and preserved and governed, he knows no necessity save that of his own holiness. In a word, the God of the Gospel, the God that we must have if there is to be any Gospel, is one who "doeth according to his will in the army of heaven and among the inhabitants of the earth".

Princeton.

WILLIAM BRENTON GREENE, JR.

GREAT RELIGIOUS TEACHERS OF THE EAST. By ALFRED W. MARTIN, Associate Leader of the Society for Ethical Culture of New York. 8vo; pp. ix, 268. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1911.

"The lectures in this volume are seven of a series of twelve, delivered, without notes, on successive Sunday evenings in the winter of 1911 at the Meeting House of the Society for Ethical Culture of New York." The lectures, "here reproduced as nearly as possible in their original form", are on, "The Discovery of the Sacred Books of the East and its Results"; "Gotama, the Buddha"; "Zoroaster"; "Confucius and Lao-tze"; "the Prophets of Israel and the Common wealth of Man"; "Jesus"; "Mohammed".

These lectures are well written, in some places, brilliantly written.

They are, however, disappointing. It was to be expected, that the Associate Leader of the Society for Ethical Culture would dwell on the common element in all the Sacred Books and thus would emphasize anew the universality of the religious nature in man; that he would call attention to the great truths which underlie each one of the religions and in virtue of which they persist; that he would point out the lessons which as Christians we may learn and need to learn from them; that he would find in the context and tone of the predictions of the prophets no warrant for the assumption that they referred to Jesus; and that when considering Christ he would study him in his humanity and merely as an ethical teacher and force rather than as the divine redeemer. But it was not to be expected, and specially because he is the Associate Leader of the Society for Ethical Culture,

that while admitting the historicity of Jesus, he would claim that, "excepting only Zoroaster, less is known of Jesus than of any other of the great moral leaders of the Orient" (p. 194), whereas, with regard to Gotama at least, instead of the records of contemporaries and eye witnesses, we have only inferences from authorities none of which can be proved to have lived when he lived. Neither was it to be expected that when considering Jesus as an ethical teacher and force he would seem to write half-heartedly, would make many reservations and qualifications and would at last admit only that he does find in him "an ever inspiring exemplar of sincerity, sympathy, conservation and trust." Nor was it to be expected that while he extenuates the relations of Islam to the slave trade and affirms almost exultingly that "never has it been either the principle or the practice of Islam to convert people generally by forceful means," his whole attitude toward Christianity would illustrate the tolerance, or even the forbearance that he censures rather than the appreciation that he would commend and with which he treats the other faiths. And yet this is not strange. If one can study Christianity and overlook its claim to be "the way of salvation," and especially if one can study Christ and ignore his claim to be the divine Saviour, his whole view must be both most partial and most superficial. It would be strange were such an one not to get things mixed, but what could be more unethical than such confusion?

Princeton.

WILLIAM BRENTON GREENE, JR.

CREATIVE EVOLUTION. By HENRI BERGSON. Authorized translation by Authur Mitchell, Ph.D. Henry Holt Co. N. Y.

This is what its admirers will call an epoch-making book. Possibly it may prove to be such. It presents views that are new and radically incompatible with much that has been generally accepted by modern philosophers. If these theses can be defended, we must revise our philosophy in root and branch. The larger, and by far the more intelligible part of the book is destructive criticism of all the current theories of evolution. Spencer and the Neo-Darwinians naturally receive most attention.

The objections urged against these, and practically all theories of evolution advanced heretofore are chiefly these. First, they beg the whole question, "positing in advance everything that is to be explained." "Such is Spencer's illusion. He takes reality in its present form; he breaks it to pieces; then he 'integrates' these fragments and 'dissipates their movements'. Having thus imitated the whole by a work of mosaic, he imagines he has retraced the design of it and made the genesis." "And whether we posit the present structure of mind or the present subdivision of matter, in either case we remain in the evolved; we are told nothing of what evolves, nothing of evolution."

Second, they attribute too much to accident. Accidents happen, but they do not correlate, they do not coöperate. The evolution of instinct, for example, could have come to pass "only by the progres-

since addition of new pieces which some way manage to fit into the old; but each new piece requires the recasting of the whole." "How could mere chance work a recasting of this kind?"

Third, adaptation to environment is not in any manner or degree the cause of evolution. "The truth is that adaptation explains the sinuosities of the movement of evolution, but not its general directions, still less the movement itself. The road that leads to the town is obliged to follow the ups and downs of the hills; it *adapts* itself to the accidents of the ground; but the accidents of the ground are not the cause of the road, nor have they given it its direction" "Whether we will or no, we must appeal to some inner directing principle in order to account for this convergence of effects."

These objections are pressed again and again from different points of attack. They are not new, but they are aimed at the latest forms of evolution theories, and are strongly presented by a writer familiar with the field. It is hard to see how they can be answered.

But to clear the ground for his own theory of "Creative Evolution" he goes much farther than these current theories, and attacks the very foundation of our philosophies. He discusses "The relation of the problem of life to the problem of knowledge", "The geometrical tendency of the intellect", The ideas of "Duration", "Nothing", "Disorder" and others; and from these discussions concludes that "we must have a theory of life and theory of knowledge that are inseparable." "Life is greater than intellect." "Instinct and intelligence are not successive degrees of evolution, but are divergent directions of an activity that has split up as it grew. The difference between them is not a difference of intensity nor of degree but of kind". "Intelligence and instinct are turned in opposite directions, the former toward inert matter, the latter toward life". "Of the discontinuous alone does the intellect form a clear idea" "Of immobility alone does the intellect form a clear idea" "The intellect is characterized by a natural inability to comprehend life" "It goes all around life taking from outside the greatest possible number of views of it, drawing it into itself instead of entering into it. But it is to the very inwardness of life that *intuition* leads us—by intuition I mean instinct that has become disinterested, self conscious, capable of reflecting upon its object and of enlarging it indefinitely."

These quotations may be sufficient to indicate the point of view of the author. Such conclusions form the basis of his theory of creative evolution, which is somewhat vague, but essentially this. The cause of evolution is a "*vital impetus*". "An *original impetus* of life passing from one generation of germs to the following generation of germs through the developed organisms which bridge the interval between the generations. This impetus, sustained right along the lines of evolution among which it gets divided, is the fundamental cause of variations. In general, when species have begun to diverge from a common stock they accentuate their divergence as they progress in their evolution. Yet at certain points they evolve identically; in fact

they must do so if the hypothesis of a common impetus be accepted." "There is in reality only a current of existence and the opposing current; thence proceeds the whole evolution of life" "Life is essentially a current sent through matter drawing from it what it can". The accidents of the encounter with matter account for the "sinuosities" of evolution, but not its direction nor its presence. "If the evolution of life had encountered other accidents in its course, if thereby the current of life had been otherwise divided, we should have been, physically and morally, far different from what we are."

It is perhaps too much to ask of a scheme of philosophy, so vast and original as this, perfect completeness, or even entire freedom from absurdities. There is much in this that must be modified to make it selfconsistent. More that certainly lacks convincing evidence, and not a little that would be more intelligible if put in old familiar terms. But it is none the less a splendid contribution towards the better understanding of the problems of evolution, and will, we think, do much toward the solution of some of them.

Probably the most valuable parts of the book are the discussions of the metaphysical questions involved in the elaboration of the theory of creative evolution.

The most interesting of the scientific themes is the nature and origin of instinct. Some of the definitions can hardly be accepted and some of the conclusions are at least doubtful, but all are ingenious and splendidly presented.

It takes more than a book to make an epoch in modern philosophy, but no book of recent years has offered such weighty objections to the current theories of evolution; nor has any criticism of philosophy so shaken the foundation of our metaphysics.

The most significant feature of the book is the striking example it furnishes of the radical reaction of modern thought from materialism toward spirituality and biblical conceptions of the universe. If we substitute for the phrase "Vital impetus" a creative volition, and for the "inner directing principle" the immanence of divine efficiency we have a scheme of evolution quite in harmony with that of "that shepherd who first taught the chosen seed in the beginning how the heavens and earth rose out of chaos" and an order of the universe strikingly similar to that so grandly pictured in the prophesy of Ezekiel.

Shippensburg.

S. A. MARTIN.

WHAT IS THIS UNIVERSE? CHRISTIAN FAITH VERSUS MONIST DREAMS.

By S. PH. MARCUS, M.D., Spa Physician at Pyrmont, Germany. Translated from the German by R. W. Felkin, M.D., F.R., S.E. Introduction by Rev. William Durban, B.A. New York: Funk & Wagnalls Company, 1910. Cloth, 12mo, viii + 144. Price 75 cents, net.

This little volume which appeared formerly under the title, "Monism?" is one of the many answers called forth by Ernst Haeckel's "Die

Welträtsel." As indicated by the sub-title, the author holds firmly to that solution of these "Riddles" which Christian Truth has always provided. "Materialism is spreading, due largely to want of sound thinking"; the author aims to reach those who are inclined to accept their views of life and faith "ready made" under the spell of some great name, such as in science Haeckel justly has. It follows that he gives most attention to the facts of science and the hypotheses based upon them by Haeckel and others of similar views. His 'afterthoughts', as he calls them, meaning thoughts after considering the opinions which he opposes, are only "what countless others have been thinking". In order to hold the attention he has presented them in brief numbered paragraphs and in dialogues between "Preceptor" and "Disciple", grouped in chapters under such titles as Knowledge, Matter, The Living Organism, Life, Immortality, Perfection, Chance. In the first chapter which deals with the extent and limitations of human knowledge he strikes his keynote in the not unfamiliar statement, "Things which are given out as being scientifically proved often only rest upon the teaching of a certain school of thought, and hold the field only so long as that school maintains its ground." In the chapter on Immortality, he argues that in the sequence of generations of living creatures there is "something immortal" which the latest descendants retain in unbroken succession from the first. Is it *something immortal* or merely *something which still lives*? He argues, that "every living being has a something *plus* a corpse", and that this something is what constitutes it a living being; that it would be the one exception to the eternal law of nature if this life principle be mortal; that it must be as indestructible as the elements of which the body is composed or as a crystal of quartz. Sometimes we may not entirely agree with his logic, and sometimes he seems to confuse popular misconceptions with the scientific theories which he opposes. This appears in some matters connected with the theory of evolution. Criticism as to the unity and clearness of the book might be made, due in part to the fact that it is controversial rather than constructive. But he does quite effectively show how unreasonable the conclusions of Monism often are, and how much there is to be said in favor of the interpretation of the universe as the work of a great personal Intelligence.

Glen Ridge, N. J.

FREDERICK W. JACKSON.

MAN'S TOMORROW. By WILLIAM W. KINSLEY, Author of "Views on Vexed Questions", "Old Faiths and New Facts", etc. Boston: Sherman, French & Company. 1911. 8vo, pp. 4 + 190. Price \$1.20 net.

The author of this book is a man of deeply earnest Christian Faith, a thorough believer in the Bible, and also a believer in a not merely "world-embracing but universe-embracing law of evolution". In making this discovery, modern science has "established beyond all reasonable controversy the fact of an after-life". He deals positively and con-

structively with many of the same matters which have engaged the attention of Dr. Marcus, in 'What Is This Universe?'. He makes no mention of materialist or monist, but he writes for those to whom the old proofs seem insufficient, and who are not satisfied to know merely what the Scriptures teach. He assumes as settled the truth of theism, referring the reader to his 'Views on Vexed Questions.' Science, under which he includes the science of history, metaphysics and psychology as well as the natural sciences, has no positive word as to the life beyond; it has been too busy with the life which now is: but the intimations are that it will finally establish the fact of a future life and the historicity of Christ's resurrection. Considerable space is given to the consideration of occult phenomena, which he interprets as clearly intimating "the approaching permanent transcendence of spirit over gross matter", and that we possess a "second body highly etherealized and fully equipped with sense organs and with a far more extensive command over matter". From investigations in the natural sciences he sees an interrelation of forces, the atomic, chemic, and mechanic, in subjection to the bioplastic, and the bioplastic in turn to a higher grade of vital force. "Science has shown beyond question that the creation of man was purposed by God to be the goal of all his creative thought on this planet"; while man's intellectual and moral possibilities, above all as witnessed in Christ, and the incompleteness of the Cosmic process are convincing proof of man's immortality. If there is no future life God has endowed man with some qualities without adequate reason and has perpetrated upon him a most gigantic and incredible fraud. The latter part of the book develops more clearly the "Tomorrow". The human spirit it not to be disembodied but the spiritual ethereal body, "more serviceable to the mind, more under its complete control", is to remain;—the same in nature as Christ's transfiguration and resurrection body. God will reach the full realization of his creative thought by continuing and completing the uncurtaining and unfettering of the human spirit which he has here begun. Disobedience to his laws bring the higher under the dominion of the lower. Hell is a terrible reality. Ultimately for those who have been fitted for it, there will be the unveiling of the Heavenly Father's face. On the one hand, he guards against an anthropomorphic pagan conception of God, on the other, he protests against a pantheistic interpretation of divine immanence. As a whole, Mr. Kinsley has given us an interesting presentation of the subject full of helpful suggestion. May it fulfil his hope "that many disheartened ones may have a reassured faith in an endless life, prophesied and provided for by a distinctively personal infinitely loving God".

In some points we might feel called upon to take issue with him, as for example when he says of Christ, "It is not disclosed in the record precisely when his human soul entered into that mystic union with the Divine." Is it not after all plainly recorded in Luke 1.35?

Glen Ridge, N. J.

FREDERICK W. JACKSON.

NEW THOUGHT, ITS LIGHTS AND SHADOWS: an Appreciation and a Criticism. By JOHN BENJAMIN ANDERSON, Professor in Colgate University. Boston: Sherman, French & Company. 1911. Pp. 149. \$1.00 net.

New Thought is related to old-fashioned common sense as effervescing champagne is to the cup of cold water. "It awakens self-confidence, infuses courage, inspires hope.—It enables a man to quaff the wine of life with gladness and even with glee from any and all of the goblets of circumstance".

Professor Anderson recognizes that New Thought has a message for a restless age, but he finds its teachings so full of inconsistencies that he cannot accept it as a safe guide either in philosophy, morals or therapeutics. It is pantheistic in its philosophy, he thinks, but not consistently so; at times it rides its monism desperately hard, but at other times makes a flying leap into pluralism; it is hopelessly at sea in its account of the relations of the conceptions with which it deals, such as spirit, conscious mind, subconscious mind, body; and it recommends therapeutic methods at variance with one another.

No philosophy is self-consistent in the opinion of its critics, but it must be confessed that New Thought, as here expounded, contains more than its share of incongruities. Nevertheless, our author holds, some of its teachings have been of "untold value" to its disciples, for "even a house divided against itself may stand for a time and have a useful mission". The roots of New Thought are traced to New England transcendentalism and Hindu philosophy. The book, as stated in the preface, "is an explanation of New Thought by a Christian. It is not for the professional philosopher but rather an elementary exposition for the people".

Lincoln University, Pa.

WM. H. JOHNSON.

THE AMERICAN PHILOSOPHY, PRAGMATISM: Critically Considered in Relation to Present-Day Theology. By A. v. C. P. HUIZINGA, Author of "Belief in a Personal God", "Discussions on Damnation", etc. Boston: Sherman, French & Company. 1911. Pp. 64. 60 cents net.

Is Pragmatism the American philosophy? Mr. Huizinga thinks it may be so called, with some reservations, since it sprang from American soil and fits the temper of the great republic. In this little volume he writes of Pragmatism and its problems in an attractive style, colloquial rather than technical, and in an attitude more critical than sympathetic. His objections to the pragmatic philosophy may in the main be reduced to three. (1) Its subjective and utilitarian theory of truth. "De veritate non est disputandum." The love of the truth for its own sake, the supposed inspiration of thinkers, is taken away. As an evolutionary philosophy, Pragmatism gives no very clear account of the reality and function of the environment. (2) Its pluralistic metaphysics. The writer thinks it unphilosophical to solve the problem of the One and the Many by the elimination of the One; as

when, for example, it is suggested that a "multiverse" should be substituted for a universe, polytheism for monotheism, or truths for truth. (Is "A Pluralistic Universe" a contradiction in terms?). (3) The change in centre of gravity in morals and religion from the will of God to the will of man or wills of men. Pragmatism does not ask, What is the chief end of man? (Does it know? Prof. Heath Bawden is quoted as saying, "We don't know where we are going, but we're on the way.") It asks only, What is the use *for us*; not "What is the *use of us*?"

Mr. Huizinga's essay is a thoughtful and interesting critique of Pragmatism from a theological standpoint, and is valuable in itself and as a guide to the literature of the subject.

Lincoln University, Pa.

WM. H. JOHNSON.

THE FUNDAMENTALS. A TESTIMONY TO THE TRUTH. Vol. III. Testimony Publishing Co., Chicago. Pp. 120.

This third volume of "The Fundamentals", which is sent out very widely owing to the generosity of two "Christian Laymen", contains seven essays in defense of fundamental Christian truth. The longest and most important essay is the first which is an exposition and defense of the doctrine of Plenary Inspiration by the Rev. James M. Gray, D.D., Dean of the Moody Bible Institute. The argument for Christianity from Christian experience is briefly presented by Pres. E. Y. Mullins of the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary. Mr. Speer discusses the Revelation of the Fatherhood of God in Christ, and the "Moral Glory of Jesus Christ as a Proof of Inspiration" is treated at some length by President Moorehead of Xenia. Dr. White-law of Scotland, in a brief essay entitled "Christianity No Fable", presents some of the main arguments for the truth and Divine origin of Christianity; and the volume closes with two essays of the nature of a personal testimony by Prof. J. J. Reeve of the Southwestern Theological Seminary at Fort Worth, and by Mr. Charles T. Studd.

Princeton.

C. W. HODGE.

EXEGETICAL THEOLOGY.

HISTORY, PROPHECY AND THE MONUMENTS OF ISRAEL AND THE NATIONS.

By JAMES FREDERICK MCCURDY, PH.D., LL.D., Professor of Oriental Languages in University College, Toronto. Three Volumes in One. New York: The Macmillan Company. London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd. 1911. 8vo.; pp. xxiv, 425; xxi, 433; xxiii, 470. Price \$3.00 net.

This work, originally published in three volumes averaging four hundred and fifty pages each, is now printed without diminution of material on India paper, bound in one volume of handy size and light weight, and sold at one third of the original price. The first two

volumes were reviewed, as they issued from the press, by the late Reverend Professor William Deas Kerswill of Lincoln University in the pages of the *Presbyterian and Reformed Review* (vi, 337-339; viii, 312-316). On the occasion of this new edition, and in the pages of a periodical that in a way is the successor of the review just named, a few words may be permitted in addition to those already uttered concerning this masterly work by Professor McCurdy. Like a mighty river, its current is full and strong and broad and deep. The reading cannot be called light. It demands constant and close attention; for no superfluous words are used, and each successive sentence advances the thought. The reader must be well acquainted, too, with general history or he will soon find himself dazed and making headway through the book with toil and difficulty, for Dr. McCurdy presupposes wide information on the part of his readers. There are, of course, differences of opinion among experts in various fields of research regarding points in the history of the nations; and looking at the story from the standpoint of biblical criticism we could wish some sections of the book rewritten. Nevertheless on most matters of prime importance in the history of the Hebrews, to those who may be disturbed by the conflict of theories or by the assurance with which novel views are put forward as facts we would say, Read McCurdy. The great landmarks of the history are not lost sight of, and their substantial character is disclosed. The facts which Dr. McCurdy holds to be established regarding Abraham and Moses, the legislation at Sinai and the disintegrating influences at work after the settlement of Canaan, make theories unnecessary that differ from the biblical account of the course and development of the religion of Israel.

Princeton.

JOHN D. DAVIS.

PROPHECY JEWISH AND CHRISTIAN, Considered in a Series of Warburton Lectures at Lincoln's Inn. By HENRY WACE, D.D., Dean of Canterbury, Sometime Preacher of Lincoln's Inn. Milwaukee: The Young Churchman Co. 1911. Pp. 192. \$1.25 net.

More perhaps than most of the recent series of lectures preached in the chapel of Lincoln's Inn on the Warburtonian foundation these nine lectures on prophecy take the form of sermons. Not only are they introduced by a verse of Scripture, but this verse is kept before the mind and referred to as the text. The thought which it sets forth is elaborated, amplified, and illustrated, and the discourse is interspersed or concluded by exhortation. They are sermons; they are popular rather than academic in method; they make no attempt to rival great predecessors on the same foundation either in voluminousness or in comprehensiveness. But the gist of the matter is here.

A certain obscurity pervades the book, due in part perhaps to the sermonic form. There is lacking a complete, well balanced, single presentation of the several topics, such as one expects in a text-book or a scientific or philosophic treatise. The reader might at times think that Dr. Wace would explain all prophecy as due to the discernment of

a great need in God's kingdom and the faith that God will provide, and would claim that prophecy was believed by the people solely because it commended itself to them as the voice of God. Nothing is further from the truth. He agrees with Nicodemus in the belief that miracles can prove a teacher to have come from God, and with Christ who said, "I have told you before it come to pass, that, when it is come to pass, ye may believe." But these truths are not gathered into a comprehensive statement and shown in their relations to one another.

In respect to their content these lectures are much to our taste. The writer is a good man, whose praise is in the churches. The book throbs with life which nourishes itself on the Scriptures, it voices a triumphant faith, it is joyous in the knowledge of its strong foundations, it moves in an atmosphere wholesome and full of tonic, and presents aspects of the subject which it is profitable ever to have before one's mind. The author's interpretations of the phenomena are, broadly speaking, those which have commended themselves to thoughtful Christian men.

Princeton.

JOHN D. DAVIS.

THE BEGINNING OF THINGS IN NATURE AND IN GRACE, OR A Brief Commentary on Genesis. By JOSEPH K. WIGHT. Boston: Sherman, French & Company. 1911. Pp. 188. \$1.20 net.

The venerable author of this volume had his interest in the subject here treated awakened while he was engaged in missionary labors in China during the years from 1848 to 1857 (p. 15). He is a firm believer in the truthfulness of the biblical narratives, and lovers of the Bible will find much in his book to enjoy and will read many of the pages with great gratification. The work has serious defects, however, which nullify in an appreciable degree its admirable qualities. It is marred by not a few interpretations of the Bible which do not express the consensus of opinion among devout students of the Scriptures. More superficial, but quite disturbing, are occasional misstatements and many misprints. Such monstrosities appear as Pithiean Homopus (p. 43), Paliolithic (p. 44, 83), Peliolithic and Nicolithic (p. 51), Septheragint (p. 26), millenium (p. 40). Biblical names are sometimes misspelled: as Ninevah (p. 106), Macpelah (p. 133), Chederlaomer and Cheder-Laomer (pp. 133, 135), Melchisedek (pp. 117, 172). The author is allowed by the printer and the proof reader to speak of a remark of Asar (great Caesar!) concerning the Gauls (p. 72), of Xinthros, the Babylonian Noah (p. 82), of Prof. Prestureh (p. 92), of Fairbank's Typology (p. 103), of the code of Hammurami (p. 127). Bethel is confounded with Shechem in Gen. xii. 6-8 (p. 127); without biblical authority Nimrod is called the builder of Babylon (p. 135); the doctrine of verbal inspiration is misrepresented (p. 42); it is stated that "Ur is generally supposed to be the ancient Nippur" (p. 126). Defects like these certainly offend the eye, and they tend to bewilder the reader and to beget a lack of confidence in the statements of the book.

Princeton.

JOHN D. DAVIS.

BIBLICAL GEOGRAPHY AND HISTORY. By CHARLES FOSTER KENT, PH.D., Woolsey Professor of Biblical Literature in Yale University. With Maps. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1911. 12mo., pp. xviii, 296. \$1.50 net.

This compact manual fulfills well the purpose which according to the preface the author had before him. It presents the physical geography of the biblical lands and then traces in broad outlines the history of Israel and of early Christianity in close conjunction with their historical background, omitting unimportant details in order that the vital facts may stand out clearly and in their true significance. The book is written in good simple English, the matter is well arranged, the meaning is plain, and the story is always interesting. The work is open to adverse criticism in that many debated questions of history and archaeology are treated as settled and a history of the Hebrew people is constructed on this insecure basis, without a word of caution being uttered to the reader. This is particularly unfortunate in a manual designed to be used as a text-book by persons who are not in a position to know what statements represent ascertained facts and what is mere speculation. In other respects the work is admirable.

Princeton.

JOHN D. DAVIS.

COMMENTARY ON THE BOOK OF JOB. By GEORGE A. BARTON, PH.D., Professor of Biblical Literature and Semitic Languages in Bryn Mawr College. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1911. Small 8vo.; pp. xi, 321.

This commentary is the ninth volume to be published in the series entitled THE BIBLE FOR HOME AND SCHOOL, of which the general editor is Professor Shailer Mathews. The Introduction, pages 1 to 54, occupies about one-third of the book, exclusive of the text of the Revised Version which is printed in full. It is mainly concerned with the source of the poem, its history, and the condition of its text. The questions are wholly literary, and without dogmatic significance or religious importance. This introduction is thoroughly scholarly in its exhibition of the recent lines of study in which literary critics have been interested. Its discussion of the questions involved is inadequate, and hence it is too summary in its judgments. The brevity is probably due mainly to the restrictions imposed by the limitations of space. As already stated, the book belongs to a series intended for home and school. For that purpose it is not adapted. It would be a mistake for the teacher or the child or the general reader (p. vii) to employ this introduction as a text-book and adopt its conclusions as statements of unquestioned facts. The introduction faithfully exhibits the problems that lie before the literary critic for solution, but is far above the heads of children at home or in school, and except in the rarest instances of the teachers themselves. It asks them to accept evidence which they are not trained to understand and arguments of whose value they are not competent to judge. These remarks are not made in

the way of depreciation. In its proper place the introduction is valuable. But in a book for young people in school a much simpler introduction was needed. The book really belongs in the hands of mature men and women who wish seriously to study the literary history of the book of Job and who, using this introduction as a guide, will carefully read the treatises cited and weigh long, patiently, and impartially the facts presented and the arguments founded upon them. It is desirable to state to the general reader who is interested in the book of Job that eminent scholars regard this magnificent production of Hebrew thought as a growth, and to declare that the author himself concurs in this opinion, and to indicate the supposed additions and the order in which they were made until the poem attained its present superb form. If the conclusion of the author is correct that from time to time considerable material was added, the additions were made wisely. For the book of Job is incomplete without these sections, and requires essentially its present contents in order to meet the deep needs of man's religious nature. Dr. Green's little book on *The Argument of the Book of Job Unfolded*, written in popular style for the general reader by one who saw beautiful unity and progress of thought in the poem, should be read by all who wish to penetrate into the spiritual glory of this masterpiece of Hebrew poetry; and the lover of literature will find delight in Dr. George H. Gilbert's elegant translation of the poem and choice studies of its various features in his book entitled *The Poetry of Job*.

The comments are fresh, informing, scholarly, the fruit of wide study. They have been judiciously chosen, and simply and clearly expound the text. Running through them is a thread that connects them with a particular school of thought.

The publishers ask for an expression of opinion regarding the availability of the book for use either as a required text-book or as recommended collateral reading. From the foregoing remarks it is evident that in our judgment the book is not adapted to serve as a text-book. Nor is it a commentary to be used by itself alone—what commentary is?—but it is an up-to-date work for reference and for collateral reading.

Princeton.

JOHN D. DAVIS.

THE BOOK OF ESTHER. Critical Edition of the Hebrew Text with Notes. By PAUL HAUPT, LL.D., W. W. Spence Professor of the Semitic Languages in the Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. 1908. Pp. 90. Price \$1.05 postpaid.

This pamphlet is a reprint from *The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, vol. xxiv, and appeared subsequently as Professor Haupt's contribution to *Old Testament and Semitic Studies in Memory of William Rainey Harper*. The theory which the author propounded in his brochure entitled *Purim* regarding the origin of the book of Esther is here supplemented by comments on the narrative,

notes on the text, and the Hebrew text in revised form. There is much matter in these pages that is quite independent of the author's theory. At times the tendency is manifest to repeat familiar philological knowledge. The pages are, in fact, unduly cumbered by this material. But the work is a serious attempt to recover the original text of the book of Esther by a comparison of the Massoretic text with the versions. Purely subjective criticism is, however, not lacking. In connection with these studies of Professor Haupt the contemporaneous work of Professor L. B. Paton should be used, entitled *Text-Critical Apparatus to the Book of Esther* and published in the second of the volumes dedicated to the memory of William Rainey Harper. Another purpose of Professor Haupt in presenting this work to the public was "to defend the author of Esther against unwarranted criticisms of modern expositors" (p. 145), and he frequently and successfully corrects the foolish remarks of certain commentators who seem determined to find the narrative absurd.

According to Professor Haupt the ancient Babylonian New Year's festival gave form and complexion to the celebration of New Year's day in Persia; and it may reasonably be assumed that in popular legend and in dramatic plays connected with this anniversary favorite characters bore the name Esther and Mordecai. Both of these names were of Babylonian origin, Mordecai being a familiar Babylonian name derived from the god Marduk and Esther, it is claimed, being the Babylonian goddess Ishtar. The less orthodox Jews gradually adopted this celebration and transplanted it to Palestine; and it was ultimately sanctioned by the ecclesiastical authorities. Then came the decisive victory which Judas Maccabæus gained over the Syrian general Nicanor on the 13th of Adar, 161 B. C., and the annual commemoration of the event in succeeding years (1 Mac. vii, 43-49; 2 Mac. xv, 36). At length the two seasons of festivity were united, and finally the various features of both celebrations were combined by a Persian Jew about 130 B.C. in the festal legend which forms the book of Esther (pp. 114, 128, 169, 174; and see brochure *Purim*). In this legend Jonathan Maccabæus serves as the prototype of Mordecai (cp. 1 Mac. x, 20, 61-64). The foundation upon which this theory and kindred ones rest has been examined by the present reviewer in his *Dictionary of the Bible*, 3rd edition, article Esther. In this connection it is significant that in the copious philological discussions by Professor Haupt in comment on the text there is no indication that the Hebrew of the book of Esther is corrupt. The vocabulary is, of course, late; and it contains Persian words, as do the languages of the various peoples subject to Persia in the fifth century before Christ (Davis, in vol. i of *Old Testament and Semitic Studies in Memory of William Rainey Harper*). There are also grammatical constructions which belong to the later period of the language. But the vocabulary is not degenerate. The words do not show deterioration. Gutturals are not weakened, sibilants are not softened. The laws that govern the interchange of consonants are not violated. This fact is a serious objection

to the derivation of Esther from Ishtar and of Hadassah from hhadashshatu (see further the cited dictionary article, p. 219, II. 1 and 2).

Princeton.

JOHN D. DAVIS.

THE BOOK OF MICAH. A New Metrical Translation with Restoration of the Hebrew Text and Explanatory and Critical Notes. By PAUL HAUPT, LL.D., W. W. Spence Professor of the Semitic Languages and Director of the Oriental Seminary in the Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. The University of Chicago Press. Chicago, Illinois. [1910]. Pp. 116. \$1.06 postpaid.

The contents of these pages, reprinted from *The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature* for 1910, are a product of the exuberant fancy which Professor Haupt at times indulges.

Princeton.

JOHN D. DAVIS.

BIBLIOTHECA ABESSINICA, Studies Concerning the Languages, Literature and History of Abyssinia, edited by Dr. E. Littmann. IV.—THE OCTATEUCH IN ETHIOPIA, According to the Text of the Paris Codex, with the Variants of Five Other Manuscripts, edited by Dr. J. Oscar Boyd. Part II, EXODUS AND LEVITICUS. Leyden: E. J. Brill, and Princeton: The University Library. 1911. Pp. 240.

This is a continuation of the work noticed in the January, 1910, number of this REVIEW, p. 128. As there is no change either in the manuscripts collated, or in the method of their use, it has not seemed necessary to the editor to introduce into this Part II any introductory material.

Since the inception of this task, the ambitious plans of the Göttingen Society to collect and edit all the materials available for the reconstruction of the Septuagint-text have given to this Ethiopic edition a breadth of background and a sense of timeliness which ought to commend it to a wide circle of present-day scholarship. Even if the scope of that larger undertaking should be found to require the collation of readings from a larger number of Ethiopic codices than the six here represented, it may be hoped that this edition will furnish the basis for the publication of such additional readings. And inasmuch as each of the stages of transmission through which the Ethiopic version has passed is represented in this edition by a *group* of MSS, the opinion may be hazarded that such a wider collation would be found to present an almost, if not quite, negligible contribution to the reconstruction of the LXX.

This second volume is dedicated by the editor to the memory of the late Dr. Baird, an alumnus of Princeton Theological Seminary of the Class of 1856. For three years after his graduation he was a resident of Princeton, a tutor in the college while pursuing advanced studies with the Seminary faculty. Thereafter for over forty years he was professor of the Greek language and literature in New York University. His works on the history of the Huguenots

of France and his life of Beza are the chief means by which he has become known to the wider circle of scholarship. But by those who were permitted for four years to sit under his daily classroom instructions, he will be cherished as the teacher *par excellence*; for he was able to hold up before his pupils the same ideal of scholarship as he maintained for his own work, whether in the domain of the classics or of history, namely, accuracy. What above all else made him the successful teacher of Greek that he was, was his conception of that language as an instrument of precision. And it seems appropriate that this edition of a bible-text should be inscribed with the name of one who insisted upon that accuracy of detail, without which any bible-text is worse than useless.

Princeton.

J. O. B.

THE OLD TESTAMENT NARRATIVE Separated Out, Set in Connected Order, and Edited by Alfred Dwight Sheffield. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1910. Pp. 507. Price \$1.50 net.

The purpose of this book is revealed in the expression of its author's hope, in his preface, that it may meet the needs of students who find as a part of their college entrance requirements an acquaintance with the chief narratives of the Old Testament. He feels that the reader of these narratives is in a dilemma, being forced to choose between a "literary" version that is marred by errors of transmission and obscurities and archaisms in the rendering on the one hand, and on the other hand a correct version that is "non-literary". To give relief from this dilemma he prints the King James version, emending it wherever "the work of modern textual scholarship has made it possible to remove such errors," and adding footnotes explaining or supplementing the text, particularly in the use of archaeological material. Unfortunately in the application of these principles, theoretically so admirable, considerable concession is made to purely subjective considerations that have the sanction of some eminent scholar or school but that cannot rightly be described as "matters of fact". Wild comparisons suggested by Fraser in his "Golden Bough" or by Robertson Smith in his "Religion of the Semites", or "Kinship and Marriage", are not "matters of fact". And often where no specific reference is given, the complete adherence of the compiler of this book to the most extreme wing of radical criticism of Old Testament religion and history is manifest. The sketch of Old Testament history that forms the Introduction to the book presents the Wellhausenian conception of that history, with no room left for the supernatural in either miracle or prophecy, and with the Bible's affirmation utterly ignored as unworthy of credence or even of consideration. For this reason the spread of this book among our young people is to be deplored, and our hope must be expressed that the prevalent laxness and inattention to details in most of the so-called "Bible-study" of to-day may permit some at least who use this book to use it with a minimum of harmful residuum: after all the vast bulk

of the book is just the plain word of God, and that is abundantly able to plead for itself.

Princeton.

J. OSCAR BOYD.

THE ORIGIN OF THE PENTATEUCH. By HAROLD M. WIENER, M.A., LL.B. Oberlin, O.: Bibliotheca Sacra Company. 1910. Pp. 152. With indices of Scripture-passages, and of proper-names.

In this brief volume the author, whose earlier works on Pentateuchal criticism have been reviewed in these columns, reproduces the arguments he has already advanced, marshalling and expressing them in a manner intended to carry the general reader with him over the whole field of the discussion. In fact, for a very large part he simply quotes verbatim from his articles in the *Churchman*, the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, and this REVIEW. The value of the book lies in its broad, summary view of the question at issue, its use of the answers, concessions and silences (!) of the writer's opponents, and its appeal to a class of readers hardly equipped for technical discussions. Once more we must express our regret at the tone in which the author allows himself to refer to those whose views he combats, and once more we take pleasure in subscribing assent to this critic's general lines of attack and defence and in admiring the freshness with which he approaches the legal questions involved.

Princeton.

J. OSCAR BOYD.

AN INTERPRETATION OF GENESIS, INCLUDING A TRANSLATION INTO PRESENT-DAY ENGLISH. By REV. F. P. RAMSAY, PH.D., Pastor Third Presbyterian Church, Omaha, Neb. The Neale Publishing Company, New York and Washington. 1911. Pp. 347, octavo. Price \$2.00 net.

An admirable book. It is evidently the fruit of years of study by a trained and vigorous mind, and justifies the author's conviction that he has been "appointed to help a little toward establishing the science of interpretation, and in applying it to the interpretation of the Scriptures". With himself the author associates, in his preface, his son, Robert L. Ramsay, Ph.D., as a factor in the production of the book, and especially of the translation as a matter of English expression.

The author proceeds upon the assumption that Genesis is a truthful record of facts. He believes it to be a literary unit, and makes constructive use of the belief in the plan and structure of his own book. He seeks to attain a sympathetic appreciation of the original writer's point of view, so that his work is a refreshing contrast to most of the recent works on Genesis, which seem to move wholly upon the surface and neglect the considerations that made the sacred record what it is. Dr. Ramsay has written a paragraph (p. 55) that is worthy in our estimation to be impressed *verbatim* upon the memory of every interpreter of Scriptural narrative:—"Fundamental to the interpretation of Genesis is the historical imagination. We must understand these narratives, not as if they were told us now and by

some angel from heaven, but as told in close connection with the events and by actors in them and eye-witnesses of them. A fact once clearly apprehended by us through this narration is a revelatory fact given to its contemporaries, and given to us, to teach us as well as them; but the fact itself we must take as it was given to them. We may learn from it something they did not learn, but that something we must learn from it as told by them."

The author's translation, with the notes thereto, is introduced, rather oddly, in the midst of his discussion of the problems of Genesis. After three chapters dealing respectively with the text of Genesis, its origin, and its literary form and structure, we find this new version, with its own preface and notes accompanying. Only at its close does the author resume the thread of his discussion with chapters on the facts of Genesis, its teachings, the progress of doctrine in it, its value, and the difficulties and objections commonly urged. "The convenience of the reader" (p. 17) is suggested as the reason for inserting the translation where it occurs, but it is doubtful if as much is gained thereby for this or for any other useful purpose, as is lost by the disjunction thus created between the two parts of the author's material.

It is of course inevitable that readers will disagree, now here, now there, with the interpretation preferred, or the rendering adopted, by this translator, as in the case of any other translation that could be made. But with this reservation we take pleasure in stating that Dr. Ramsay's version commends itself very highly to our judgment, not only for the soundness of the formal principles on which it has been constructed, as set forth in the author's preface, but also for the skill with which these principles have been applied to the endless problems met in the course of the work.

In the doctrinal discussions involved in the exposition of the teachings of Genesis, the author shows himself sound in the faith, a vigorous adherent of the New Testament interpretation of the personages and facts of Genesis. The covenants with Adam, the covenant with Noah, the successively renewed covenant with Abraham and his house, the soteriological significance of sacrifice, with its substitutionary and propitiatory implications, racial responsibility for sin, its guilt as well as pollution, the reality of revelation and of inspiration—all these things and many others are insisted upon as a part of the doctrinal content of this first book of the Bible. And what is especially worthy of praise is the author's insistence that the relation of Genesis to later revelation is an organic relation, so that Genesis becomes at once "a test" and "a guide" for the subsequent body of revelation. "No new revelation can spring up anywhere", he writes (p. 320), "not in connection with the one organic revelation. The one revelation beginning in Genesis propagates itself in one people, and from that one people is given to all peoples. Memories of this one revelation, preserved fragments of it, may be found in separate peoples; but the one growing revelation will be found only in Israel. . . . Genesis then is a test. If Exodus and the rest of the Pentateuch is an outgrowth of Genesis; if the later histories of the Old Testament, and

the Prophets and the Psalms all are the genetic development of the Genesis revelation; and if Jesus Christ and the New Testament are the same revelation grown to maturity and fruitage, then these other writings are Scriptures along with Genesis; but if Jesus is not a true son of Abraham, and Paul does not stand in organic union with Jacob, then the New Testament is false, and Christianity is an imposture. But these books of the Old Testament and the New Testament are one book, The Bible, and herein is taught the one and only true religion; and every old religion is perversion, and every new religion an imposture . . . Genesis . . . is also a guide to the interpretation [of the Bible]. We must not so much understand Genesis in the light of the later books as the later books in the light of Genesis . . . Exodus cannot be understood without Genesis, but Genesis can be understood before Exodus is known. Romans must not be quoted against Genesis, but Genesis may be quoted against wrong interpretations of Romans. . . . Our systems of faith must be rooted in Genesis."

We could wish for this book a large usefulness in the cause of truth. Its style is such that it may safely be recommended to the intelligent layman, yet there are few ministers of the most thorough training who will not find in it some welcome additions to their Biblical knowledge or helpful suggestions for their homiletical studies.

J. OSCAR BOYD.

THE GREAT TEACHERS OF JUDAISM AND CHRISTIANITY. By CHARLES FOSTER KENT. (One of the series of Modern Sunday School Manuals, edited by the author in collaboration with John T. McFarland.) New York: Eaton and Mains. 1911. Pp. 166. Price 75 cents net.

In this little volume are exhibited, primarily for the "modern religious teacher" and especially the Sunday-school teacher, the teachings and methods of teaching of the prophets, priests and wise men in Israel, of the scribes and rabbis in Judaism, and of Jesus and the apostles in primitive Christianity.

A program that is in itself so promising of pedagogical value ought now to be the program of another writer, who, starting from a point of view diametrically opposed to that of Prof. Kent, would produce a book that would have the same structure but a different form and feature. For it would be hard to conceive a program more admirably suited than the program of this little book to set forth summarily the opposite views of "the old theology" and "the new theology" on almost the whole field of religious thought. Just as Dr. Kent, especially by way of conclusion in his last chapter, outlines the ideas of "the new theology" not only concerning the Old and the New Testaments, but concerning the person and work of Christ, the Church and her ministry, subjective religion, social service, and even the nature and revelation of God—so might this hypothetical author who thinks and writes as a Christian (in the only use of that term justified by the history of thought) present

a compendium of Christian doctrine on this same organizing principle of the history and value of educational substance and method, and so find a place of large usefulness in the education and inspiration of the Sunday-school teacher.

As for Dr. Kent's book and its effect we can only hope that the actual contact of those who use it, with "the alert, critical youth of to-day", will prove to them by experience that the only "standards and doctrines that will guide them in the hour of doubt and temptation and satisfy the cravings of their souls" (p. 157), are not those presented by this "constructive, modern interpretation of the Bible", but the standards and doctrines that have directed all the development of Christianity hitherto on its soul-conquering, world-conquering march,—the doctrines of a Personal God as Saviour of the individual soul from damning sin to eternal fellowship with Him through our Lord Jesus Christ by the power of His Holy Spirit.

On the vast importance of the teaching function in the work of the Church we can agree with this author, as also in his appeal to history to prove that "the periods of great advance have come when the Church, as at the time of the Protestant Reformation, has placed the Bible in the hands of the masses and laid its supreme emphasis on the teaching ministry". We may add the instructive instance of the propagation of Christianity in Korea, where, more probably than in any other mission-field, this instruction of inquirers and converts in the Word has been characteristic and pervasive.

J. OSCAR BOYD.

THE SELF-REVELATION OF OUR LORD. By J. C. V. DURELL, B.D., Rector of Rotherhithe, Late Fellow of Clare College, Cambridge, author of *The Historic Church*. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1910. 8vo, pp. xviii, 224. Imported by Charles Scribner's Sons. Price \$2.00 net.

It is a great testimony to Mr. Durell's high qualities as a writer that the viciousness of his method has not utterly destroyed the interest, or indeed even the instructiveness, of his book. His method is that spuriously genetic one which imagines itself to be tracing a development when it imposes an arbitrary scheme of evolution on a body of reluctant facts. Mr. Durell tells us that his aim is "to trace the progressive apprehension of the claims of Jesus by His disciples, and then to show that the interpretation of those claims which was given by the Apostolic band is true". He does not begin, however, by interrogating the records and, learning from them how the disciples thought of Jesus' claims, work out gradually an account of their progressive apprehension of them. He begins by framing beforehand a scheme of development for their progressive apprehension of these claims, which appeals to him as likely, and then forces this upon the records *vi et armis*, though they directly contradict it with the utmost emphasis.

According to his schematization, Jesus, though Himself knowing that He was the Messiah from His baptism and temptation, yet is completely silent as to His Messiahship up to the Confession of Peter.

"He made no such claim either directly or through the adoption of a Messianic title" (p. 37). "We have seen reason to conclude that this transcendent fact was studiously kept out of sight by Jesus in His teaching up to the critical occasion of St. Peter's confession" (p. 62 *cf.* p. 87). During this period His effort was to give His disciples "a conception of the spiritual character of His Mission, and at the same time to give a spiritual character to their Messianic hope. He would not declare Himself to be the Christ until He had purified their expectation of what the Christ was to be" (p. 81). After the Confession of Peter, He did proclaim Himself the Messiah indeed, but He did not even yet claim to be more than man,—even up to His death. "It would seem therefore that the disciples did not think of Jesus as claiming to possess a Nature essentially different from their own; nor, it would appear, had Jesus as yet put forward any such claim" (p. 75). "Our contention is that no such teaching was yet given, or, indeed, could be given till Jesus was glorified. Not till the revelation of the Resurrection and the Risen Life could any doctrine of the Divine Nature and Person of Jesus emerge" (p. 93). "The question had simply not arisen. Jesus would not raise it until the time had come when the truth could be intelligible. It must wait to be proclaimed till after the Resurrection" (p. 103, *cf.* pp. 111, 113). Even after the Resurrection, the apprehension of Jesus' Divine Nature lagged. "But still the thought of the disciples is occupied with His Divine Mission and His personal dignity. The question as to His essential Nature has not yet arisen" (p. 127). It does not arise during the early preaching of the Apostles; not even during the early labors of Paul. "But it is not clear that an eternal relationship is yet contemplated. The Lordship of Jesus is thought of in connection with His Mission, and the Adoptionist theory is not yet excluded. Perhaps we may say that the question as to an eternal relationship had not yet emerged; the thought of the Apostles was as yet fixed only upon the present position of exalted dignity of Jesus" (p. 140). The Adoptionist position is not transcended indeed until the Paul of the Third Missionary Journey (pp. 151, 155); and the full doctrine of the Divine Christ was not attained until the decade before the fall of Jerusalem (pp. 171 *sq.*) and finds its complete statement, in fact, only at the hands of John at the end of the century (pp. 192 *sq.*). Thus there was "a gradual development to near the close of the first century of the doctrine of the Person of our Lord" (p. 206),—the "outcome of a meditation upon His earthly life, and upon the claims which He then made, and which He established by His Resurrection" (p. 187),—a meditation which, however, attained at length the truth, for "we maintain that the claims of Jesus, which historically are undoubted, positively demand this interpretation of His Person" (p. 217).

The prime difficulty with this schematization, as we have said, is that it is in flat contradiction with the records. To give it any plausibility we must begin by setting aside the testimony of the Gospel of John altogether. This Mr. Durell does with great decision, although accepting its Apostolic authorship and declaring that it gives a true picture of

Jesus, though with the loss of all "perspective,"—that is to say, plainly, of historical accuracy. But it is not only the testimony of John that must be set aside, but that of the Synoptics too; for according to the Synoptics too, as von Dobschütz rightly emphasizes (*The Eschatology of the Gospels*. 1910. p. 178), "He is the Messiah from the very beginning of His public career, and not only, as has been recently said, (Harnack *Sprüche Jesu*, p. 138, note 1) from the time of His transfiguration." To sustain his thesis, Mr. Durell is compelled to embark, therefore, upon an elaborate course of special pleading, explaining away the numerous passages which contradict it, with the effect that he rewrites the records to fit his contention, instead of adjusting his view to their data. The same process has to be repeated in order to maintain the thesis that Jesus never claims to be of Divine Nature, even to the end of His life, and no one imagined Him to be of higher nature than human until ripening thought sometime about a score of years after His Resurrection at last attained to the high truth. Passage after passage is subjected to an artificial minimizing interpretation quite after the fashion of the old Socinians, before they learned simply to set aside the Biblical writers *en bloc*, until an atmosphere of unreality is created in which everything becomes unsettled. Even Mr. Durell's fundamental contention that the process of development which was in progress was sound and reached true conclusions loses in this process of elimination of the evidence all its plausibility. One feels that the processes by which the unwelcome testimony to earlier apprehension of Jesus' messiahship and deity than Mr. Durell cares to allow is removed from the path would be equally available to remove the later testimonies to our Lord's deity too were that thought desirable. Or to speak more exactly, the foundations of his evolutionary reconstruction crumble in his hands when he comes to draw his final conclusions. We read, for example, with allusions to two outstanding Synoptic passages (Mk. xiii. 32, Mt. xi. 27, *sq.*): "Not only does the name of the Son appear in an ascending sequence—the angels, the Son, the Father—which places Him in rank above the angels, but also in the central Synoptic passage the Son is spoken of in such a way as can only be reasonably explained on the ground of a community of nature with the Father" (p. 210). Quite so; and therefore how can we presume that it required a generation to pass away before Christs' followers so explained it? If this is the only reasonable explanation of these declarations, how shall we deny this explanation to the disciples who first heard them—or to our Lord when He enunciated them? We read further: "We have, indeed, seen reason to believe that Jesus did not actually during the Ministry make any explicit claim to be Divine. But the point we wish now to emphasize is that only on the supposition that His Being is eternal and within the Godhead, can any adequate meaning be given to His words. If it were impossible to accept a belief in the Godhead of Jesus, it would be necessary for us to explain away much that He said" (p. 210). Nothing could be more truly said. But did Jesus not attach their adequate meaning to His words when He

spoke them? Did He Himself explain away much that He said? If this seem incredible, how then can it be maintained that so speaking He laid no claim to Godhead? In point of fact the two parts of Mr. Durell's argument do not hang together. The proof that is offered that Jesus made no claim to Deity in His teaching on earth is inconsistent with the proof that is offered that what Jesus taught about Himself is "inexplicable except on the supposition that Jesus partakes of the Godhead". If we have "to explain away much that He said," or accept His Godhead, then we have explained away much that He said when we have contended that He did not teach His Godhead. In the first chapters Mr. Durell already takes away the basis of his last chapter; or else in his last chapter he wholly discredits his first chapters.

It is not necessary to illustrate the critical and exegetical expedients by which Mr. Durell in his earlier chapters seeks to justify his *a priori* scheme of development of the conception of Christ through the New Testament. They present few novel features, and mostly follow the customary methods of the negative critics and minimizing interpreters. It may suffice to note only that he is compelled to deny to the title "Son of Man" an origin in Daniel's vision and a transcendental significance. Jesus did not by its use intimate that He was the Messiah, much less that He had come down from heaven, but rather that He is "the Man in whom human nature finds its fullest and most perfect expression, the typical example of what a man is intended to be" (pp. 13-26), in a word that He is the ideal man. The inadequacy of such an interpretation is evident on its face, and the attempt (p. 52) to represent the eschatological relation of the title as purely secondary and "the outcome of an accidental association of ideas" is merely arbitrarily to reverse the true state of the case. An almost equally flagrant attempt to minimize plain implications is embodied in the treatment of the use of "Lord" of Jesus. Even the general representation of it is misleading. "In the days of the Ministry", we read, "it was usual for the disciples and others to address Jesus as 'Lord' (*κύριε*), which simply has the significance of Rabbi. But not till after the Resurrection is Jesus referred to as 'the Lord' (*ὁ κύριος*). The title implies a unique honour, which the disciples were led to offer to Him by the marvellous revelation of the Risen Life" (p. 126). The address "Lord" is far from always having simply the significance of Rabbi. In Lk. v. 8, for example, it is contrasted with *ἐπιστάτης* (verse 5) as importing more even than it; and *ἐπιστάτης* is a higher address than Rabbi. And certainly the view that Jesus was spoken of as "the Lord" only after the Resurrection cannot be sustained. It is true that John happens to record instances of His being so spoken of only after the Resurrection. We say "happens", for it is clearly a matter of mere chance. For John himself records our Lord as Himself speaking of His being called "the Lord" as His current designation among His followers: "Ye call me Master and Lord; and ye say well; for so I am" (xiii. 13); and the Synoptics intimate the same thing (Mark xi. 3 ||). Of course, however, these passages may be explained away, like the rest.

The ability which Mr. Durell shows in explaining away clear passages may be fairly illustrated by his "dealing with" Thomas' great confession (Jno. xx. 28). "It may be doubted", he writes (p. 124), "whether we have here in the words of the Greek Gospel an accurate representation of the words which St. Thomas uttered. He bears an Aramaic name, and we may presume he spoke in Aramaic. It was probably some startled exclamation expressive of the deepest wonder and awe: 'My Lord God!' The invocation of the name of God would be an ejaculatory address to the Eternal God, who had vouchsafed to Him so tremendous a revelation. It would thus not be addressed to the Risen Jesus, and is not to be taken as expressing a conviction, suddenly arrived at, that Jesus Himself is God. This seems to be the most probable account to give of the words that were forced from his lips at a moment of overwhelming wonder and joy." It is difficult to believe that any writer could mean such a comment to be taken seriously. It is especially amazing in such a writer as Mr. Durell who is not devoid of some sense of reality, and who allows that at least after the Resurrection (as here) Jesus might have been recognized as both Lord and God, that this narrative is from the hand of John the Apostle and that John the Apostle may be at least generally trusted to give if not an accurate yet a substantially true account of things, and that after all Jesus was both Lord and God and no reasonable view can be taken of His words which does not see in them a claim to these high designations. Yet he puts forward this preversion of this narrative even at the cost of an open recognition that it involves the ascription of conscious misrepresentation of the facts to John. He goes immediately on to tell us that "there is no doubt that St. John intends to make a different use of the expression of St. Thomas." *"He wishes to produce belief in Jesus as the Eternal Son, co-essential with the Eternal Father. And he reports the exclamation of St. Thomas in a form which would express this tremendous truth"* (p. 125, italics ours). It is not enough to meet such a case, to say that "St. John fails to keep a true historical perspective." We must say that he falsifies the facts in order to make proof for his hypotheses.

It is only when Mr. Durell reaches a stage in the development of the doctrine of the Person of Christ in the Apostolic Church when his theory of that development begins to coincide with the records that his exposition ceases to be crass imposition and becomes reasonable. This takes place only at the opening of the last decade before the destruction of Jerusalem. And the result is that, being free now to report what he finds, he gives us a chapter on the Christology of Paul's later Epistles, Hebrews and I Peter, which is a model of its kind. We do not know where we could find in such brief compass a better plain, popular account of the witness of these Epistles to the deity of Christ. In feeling and expression alike the exposition is admirable. Take, for example, the comment on Phil. ii. 5 sq. "First let us note that here the pre-existence of Christ is taken for granted (*ὑπάρχων*); next, it is stated, as something already received and known, that the pre-existent Christ

was 'in the form of God.' Now *μορφή* connotes that which is essential to a thing and makes it what it is. Hence *μορφὴ θεοῦ* is that which characterizes God, that which is distinctive of Godhead." "There belonged to the pre-existent Christ a nature properly Divine; He was within the Being of the Godhead, and so possessed in His own right and by nature an essential equality with God." And so on. A gift of simple, clear exposition like this is rare; it is a thousand pities that Mr. Durell should reject it in favor of a less notable gift of explaining away the plain meaning of passages, whose plain meaning none could bring out and enforce better than he. The only comfort he leaves us is that in his closing chapter, which he calls "The Truth of the Catholic Faith," he recovers his distinctive method and, as we have already pointed out, really neutralizes his whole preceding artificial construction.

One of the great turning points in the development of the doctrine of the Person of Christ in the Apostolic Age, Mr. Durell, naturally, finds in the Resurrection of Christ. But we are not at all sure what Mr. Durell makes of the Resurrection. He is not only insistent that the Body of Jesus "was now spiritualized", so as not to be "subject to material conditions" (pp. 115, 122), without stopping to consider that a "spiritual body" (in the sense of the word "spiritual" intended, a body which is "immaterial") is a *contradictio in adjecto*, that is, in the strict meaning of the term, just non-sense; but he equally insists that "recognition of the Risen Jesus was only possible through the exercise of a spiritual faculty" (p. 148), "through the faculties of the spiritual life" (p. 122), which seems to imply that this "spiritualized body" as now entered into a state where space is not, could not be seen with the bodily eye, or handled with bodily hands—as, indeed, how could an immaterialized body be? We do not profess to understand what Mr. Durell means; he speaks here more by way of allusion than in plain words. But the unpleasant suspicion is left in the mind that even the Resurrection may have become sublimated in his mind into a merely so-called "spiritual" fact. This is not "the Catholic Faith", nor would its assumption "vindicate the truth of our Lord's words," when He promised after three days of sojourn in the grave to rise again from the dead.

Princeton.

BENJAMIN B. WARFIELD.

PAULUS. Eine kultur- und religionsgeschichtliche Skizze. Von D. ADOLF DEISSMANN, ord. Professor an der Universität Berlin. Mit je einer Tafel in Lichtdruck und Autotypie sowie einer Karte: Die Welt des Apostels Paulus. Tübingen. Verlag von J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck). 1911. Pp. viii, 202. M. 6.—; geb. M. 7.80.

A book on Paul by the author of *Licht vom Osten* (*Light from the Ancient East*) will be read with interest. Although only a sketch, based on lectures delivered at the University of Upsala in March, 1910, it presents in popular form the results of wide reading and special investigation, enriched in this instance by the impressions which the

author received on two visits to the East in 1906 and 1909. It is but natural that such a course of popular lectures should repeat ideas which have found expression in the more scientific studies of the author since the publication of *Die neutestamentliche Formel "in Christo Jesu"*, 1892 and the *Bibelstudien*, 1895,—such as his interpretation of the mystical element in Paul, his distinction between letter and epistle, his emphasis on the influence of the Septuagint on Paul's religious outlook and mode of expression, his theory of the Ephesian imprisonment of the Apostle, etc.

After a general account of the world of Paul, Dr. Deissmann discusses Paul the Man, the Jew, the Christian, the Apostle, and Paul in the History (*Weltgeschichte*) of Religion. His interest centers in Paul as a religious personality in whom both Jewish and Hellenistic influences were united, with many apparently divergent elements (*Polaritäten*) in his thought, but essentially a mystic rather than a theologian, whose characteristic mode of thought was contemplative rather than discursive. The strength and chief contribution of the book lies in the sphere of the concrete,—in the vivid portrayal of the features which characterized Paul's world. In this respect the appended section on the Proconsulship of L. Junius Gallio is most interesting and instructive. Here the fragments of the Delphi inscription (*cf.* this REVIEW, vol. ix, 1911, pp. 293-298) are reproduced in photographic facsimile from squeezes and the phenomena of the inscription are discussed in detail. The previous literature on the inscription is reviewed and, although the three new and unpublished fragments could not be reproduced, Dr. Deissmann from knowledge of them gives assurance that they will not affect the validity of the conclusion that the letter of Claudius, of which the inscription is a copy, was written between the end of 51 or the beginning of 52 and August 1st, 52. The debatable questions in the historical inferences from the inscription in its bearing on Pauline chronology concern two things: (1) the time of the Proconsulship of Gallio. This may have extended from the spring or early summer of 51-52 or 52-53. Dr. Deissmann and, since the appearance of his book, Dr. Lietzmann (*Zeitschr. f. wiss. Theol.*, 1911, pp. 345-354) decide in favor of the earlier alternative: and (2) the time of Paul's appearance before Gallio. Deissmann and Lietzmann argue that this was shortly after the arrival of Gallio in the summer of 51. The grounds upon which this view is based are the following: Acts xviii, 12 implies the presence of the *new* Proconsul. Paul's sea journey (xviii, 18) would thus fall in August or September, the best season for it. Aquila and Priscilla had recently come from Rome. Orosius dates the Claudian edict in 49. Ramsay's argument that Orosius' dates are a year too early does not apply to this date which was taken from a source, even if the source named either does not contain it or cannot be certainly identified. The purely logical possibility that Gallio entered upon his official duties on July 1st, 52 is dismissed because the inscription cannot have been later and probably not so late as August 1st, 52,—the interval to which it might be assigned on this view being extremely short.

These reasons are certainly not conclusive and the later date has claims at least to equal consideration. The prosecution of Paul's trial on the arrival of Festus is not analogous for it was the renewal of proceeding already begun and Luke specifically mentions the succession. But were the recent arrival of the Proconsul implied in xviii. 12 this would not decide between 51 and 52, for the possibility that Gallio left Rome in the spring of 52 and that the inscription falls between his arrival and August 1st, can scarcely be dismissed as purely logical. Moreover the *προσφάτως* of xviii. 2 should not be pressed even if the date in Orosius be approximately correct. As however both years seem to be possible so far as the inscription and the statements of Acts are concerned, other considerations may properly have weight in deciding between them. In this regard Lietzmann's reconstruction of the relative chronology is important. Holding that Paul left Corinth in the summer of 51 he assigns the arrest in Jerusalem to the spring of 55 and the arrival of Festus to the summer of 57. At the time of his arrest, however, Paul was supposed to be the "Egyptian" (xxi. 38) whose followers, according to Josephus (*Ant.* xx. 8, 6; *B. J.* ii. 13, 5), had been dispersed under Felix in the time of Nero, that is, after October 54. Thus the time assigned to Paul's arrest if not impossible, is still the earliest possible time. The natural implication, however, of *πρὸ τούτων τῶν ἡμερῶν* in xxi. 38 as of *ἐκ πολλῶν ἐτῶν* in xxiv. 10 is not favorable to it. But again, if Paul left Corinth in the summer of 51, his arrival eighteen months earlier will fall in January 50, the Apostolic Council in 48, Paul's first visit to Jerusalem fourteen years earlier (*Gal.* ii. 1) in 35 (reckoning inclusively), and his conversion three years earlier (*Gal.* i. 18) in 33 (again reckoning inclusively). The year 35, Lietzmann thinks, must be regarded as an alternative date for the conversion since it is possible that the fourteen years are to be counted as inclusive of the preceding three. This alternative reckoning of the conversion, however, is rendered extremely improbable by the *ἔπειτα* in ii. 1 following as it does an *ἔπειτα* in i. 18. The date 33, however, makes it impossible to connect the ethnarch of Aretas (2 *Cor.* xi. 32) with the probable transfer of Damascus from Roman to Nabataean control under Caligula. On the other hand, if Gallio became Proconsul in the spring or early summer of 52, Paul may have appeared before him between the summer of 52 and the summer of 53. If the departure of Gallio from Achaia, mentioned by Seneca (*Epist.* civ), have reference to an interruption of his official residence, Paul's presence before him would precede by an uncertain but limited time the summer of 53. If then Paul appeared before Gallio between the summer of 52 and 53, his arrival in Corinth would fall in the beginning of 51 or 52, the Apostolic Council about the year 50, the first visit to Jerusalem in 37 and the conversion in 35. The time allowed by Lietzmann for the third missionary journey (three years) should probably be increased by at least one year, the journey to Jerusalem and the arrest falling in 57 or 58, the arrival of Festus in the summer of 59 or 60.

The second section of the appendix contains a discussion together with a photographic reproduction of an altar recently discovered (1909) at Pergamon (cf. *Theol. Literaturzeitung*, 1911, 413; *Amer. Jour. of Archaeology*, 1911, 86) which has on one side the following inscription—as restored by Heppding: θεοῖς ἀν[ύστροις] Κατίω [ν] δαδουχο [ς]. The altar affords epigraphical confirmation of statements in Pausanias, Philostratus and Diogenes Laertius—if rightly restored—and is illustrative of the sentiment which doubtless inspired the inscription on an altar which Paul saw in Athens (Acts xvii. 23).

Princeton.

WILLIAM P. ARMSTRONG.

EARLY IDEALS OF RIGHTEOUSNESS; Hebrew, Greek, and Roman. By Prof. H. H. KENNETT, B.D., Mrs. ADAM, and Prof. M. M. GWATKIN, D.D. 8vo; pp. vii, 85. Edinburgh; T. & T. Clark, 38 George Street. 1910. Imported by Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.

In this attractive little volume we have three lectures delivered during the "Long Vacation," 1909, at Girton College, Cambridge, under the auspices of the "Committee of the Vacation Term for Biblical Students." The lectures themselves are of the highest order in every respect and leave little, if anything, to be desired. Perhaps, Prof. Kennett has illustrated and emphasized a trifle unduly "the injury which has been done to our faith by the well-meant but ill-judged attempt to give one limited meaning to each of the words denoting sin or righteousness" in the Old Testament. Yet while we could have wished for a somewhat more positive treatment, we recognize both the general importance and the special timeliness of his contention. The second lecture, that by Mrs. Adam, has the highest interest, not only because of its thoroughly satisfying presentation of the Greek view of righteousness, but also because she is the widow of the late lamented Prof. James Adam, whose Gifford Lectures on "The Religious Teachers of Greece", reviewed by us in our July issue, 1909, were edited and accompanied with a Memoir by her, which memoir has been pronounced as itself a classic. The last lecture is the shortest of the three. It is not, however, the least excellent. On the contrary, one would go far to find so able a statement of the true position, that in the Romish Church of to-day, as in the Roman nation of old, "the standard of duty is neither a philosophy nor a life, but the discipline of a state."

Princeton.

WILLIAM BRENTON GREENE, JR.

BIBELATLAS in 20 Haupt- und 28 Neben-karten. Von HERMANN GUTHE, Dr. Theol. und Phil., Professor an der Universität Leipzig. Mit einem Verzeichnis der alten und neuen Ortnamen. Leipzig: H. Wagner und E. Debes. 1911. Folio pp. iii. 10 and 8 single- and 5 double-page maps. Price, bound, 12 marks.

Professor Guthe's views on the geography of early Palestine have been given full expression in the *Kurzes Bibelwörterbuch*, published by him in 1903, and in divers articles in the third edition of Herzog's *Realencyklopädie*. It is natural that with the ever advancing knowledge

of details, he should wish now to present in a series of maps the results of his historico-geographical studies in the Old Testament. Hence this Bible-Atlas in which he has attempted to set forth graphically to the eye the entire historico-geographical material contained in the Bible and whatever other records exist bearing on the subject. Of course Professor Guthe's critical views and historical constructions affect his dealing with this material. But the undertaking was needed and Professor Guthe has executed his task with great skill.

The Atlas, as it now lies before us, consists of thirteen map-sheets, eight of which are single, and five double paged. On these thirteen sheets, twenty primary and twenty-eight ancillary maps are printed. The size of one single sheet is $14\frac{1}{2}$ by 9 inches. The pages are not overcrowded with names, and the physical modeling is kept subordinate in tone, so that the maps are clear and easily read. In physical features as well as in geographical and historical matters, the information is brought well up to date. The coloring is soft and transparent. Altogether the plates are fine examples of the lithographer's art.

The maps as they follow one another are as follows: 1. Syria and Egypt at about 1400-1250 B. C. (with ancillary maps of the Eastern delta of the Nile, and of the Nile from Syene to Meroë); 2. Palestine at the time of Saul (with ancillary map of the Kingdom of Ishbo-sheth and David); 3. Palestine at about 1000-750 B. C. (with ancillary maps of the Kingdom of David and Solomon, and of Jerusalem and the residence of the Davidic Kings); 4. Palestine in the seventh century B. C. (with ancillary maps of Palestine about 732 B. C., and Jerusalem in the seventh century); 5. The Assyrian and Babylonian kingdoms in the eighth and seventh centuries (with six ancillary maps); 6. The Table of Nations according to Genesis 10 and related records (presented according to Guthe's views of the documentary analysis); 7. The Persian kingdom about 500 B. C. (with three ancillary maps); 8. The kingdoms of the Seleucids and Ptolemies after the death of Antiochus III (187 B. C.); 9. Palestine in the Maccabean Age; 10. Palestine in the Age of Pompey; 11. Palestine in the Age of Marcus Antonius; 12. Palestine in the Age of Herod the Great; 13. Galilee; 14. Palestine at the time of Christ (with two ancillary maps of Jerusalem); 15. Palestine after the death of Herod the Great; 16. Palestine under Agrippa I; 17. Palestine under the Roman Procurators; 18. Palestine at the date of the Insurrection (66-70 A. D.); 19. The Mediterranean Region in the first century after Christ (with six ancillary maps); 20. The Palestine of to-day (with two ancillary maps).

The volume closes with a full index to the maps, containing some 7000 geographical names.

Princeton.

BENJAMIN B. WARFIELD.

HISTORICAL THEOLOGY.

LES CHRÉTIENNES CELTIQUES par DOM LOUIS GONGUAD, Bénédictin de Saint Michel de Farnborough. Paris: 1911. Libraire Victor

Lecoffre. J. Gabalda et Cie, Rue Bonaparte, 90. Pp. xxxv + 410.
Three Maps. 3 fr. 50.

This volume is one of the series issued under the general title: "Bibliothèque de l'enseignement de l'histoire ecclésiastique" which commenced in 1897. The idea of the series is the composition of an universal ecclesiastical history which will take cognisance of the latest results of historical scholarship and to carry out this idea "each volume is entrusted to a scholar under his own responsibility". This responsibility, however, does not imply that the works will not come under review of the ecclesiastical authorities of the Church of Rome for the present volume has gone forth to the world with the imprimatur of G. Lefebvre, Vic. Gén. and with the Nihil Obstat of the Abbot of St. Michael, Farnborough. The whole field of church history has been divided into certain departments or sections and each section is dealt with by an acknowledged authority for the aim is to make ecclesiastical history "une œuvre de haut enseignement". The volume under review deals with Celtic Christendom and at the outset it may be said the subject is treated with a thoroughness and breadth of view seldom, if ever, attempted before. The history of the Celtic Church in Brittany, Ireland, Scotland, England and Wales is dealt with; while introductory chapters are devoted to the pagan Celts, their political and social organization, their religious beliefs, their idols and human sacrifices. Such subjects as the Druids and their magic, reincarnation of souls and the Celtic Elysium are all touched upon. Interesting footnotes, and here it may be added that this is one of the most valuable features of the book, direct the attention to books and articles in learned periodicals where the student may find the most thorough and up-to-date treatment of the respective subjects referred to. Since the publication of *Les Chrétientés Celtiques* Dr. Hendersons *Survivals in Belief Among the Celts* (Glasgow: 1911) has been published and is the most thorough and up-to-date treatment of Scottish Celtic paganism that has yet appeared.

At the very outset Dom Gonguad makes a brief reference to the ethnology of the Celts. The island Celts he says, are divided into two groups the Gaels and the Brythons. The Gaels were the first to reach Great Britain and are now represented by the Gaelic speaking people of the Highlands of Scotland, the people of Ireland and the Isle of Man. They were followed by the Brythons who are represented by the people of Wales, Brittany and Cornwall. The Picts are also taken notice of and Sir John Rhys is quoted as holding the opinion that they are a Pre-Aryan race, speaking a language with affinities to Basque (p. 3). Sir John, however, seems to have abandoned this opinion for in a paper read to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland he distinctly says: "I attempted then (in a former paper) to prove the Pictish language related to the Basque; but whether it is related or not, my attempt to prove that it is has been pronounced and doubtless, justly pronounced a failure" (*Proceedings of the Soc. of Antiquaries of Scotland*. 1897-8. p. 324). Our author does not commit himself to this view nor, for that matter, does he accept the

commonly received opinion among Celtic scholars that the Picts were Celts speaking a language more akin to Welsh than to Gaelic though he is careful to state it and in a footnote directs attention to distinguished Celticists who have advocated this view. From these authorities we miss the name of Dr. MacBain, a scholar in the front rank of Gaelic philologists and who devoted much attention to this question in magazine articles and in his edition of Skene's *Highlanders*.

The chapter dealing with the beginnings of Christianity in the British Islands has a short section devoted to Saint Ninian's labours (p. 34). Owing to the great extent of field under survey it may have been impossible to have devoted any more space to this subject but surely Ninian deserved more. Recent researches seem to have established that Ninian's labours were not confined to the Southern Picts but extended to the Orkney Islands. The first to throw out the suggestion was Mr. William MacKay in his *Urquhart and Glen Moriston* which he further developed in his "Saints Associated with the Valley of the Ness" a paper read to the Gaelic Society of Inverness in April, 1909. The same line has been followed by Rev. A. B. Scott in his *Nynia in Pictland*. (*Scottish Historical Review*, II. 378) and in other papers in the transactions of the Scottish Ecclesiological Society and the Gaelic Society of Inverness. These studies go to prove that Ninian's missionary activities were much further extended than has generally been believed. To him belongs the honour of carrying the Gospel message throughout the length of Scotland long prior to Columba's labours among the Scots and Northern Picts. In dealing with the Celtic Church in Ireland he discusses Zimmer's attempt to identify Palladius with Patrick (p. 39). Each of Zimmer's arguments is briefly touched upon and references are made to Dr. Bury's important criticism of this view in his *Life of Patrick* and to H. William's article in the *Zeit. für Celtische Philologie*, IV. 546-547. Dom Gongaud concludes by maintaining that Palladius and Patrick were two distinct persons (p. 41). The various views held by such authorities as Dr. Bury, Mr. I. W. B. Nicholson, and Dr. Zimmer on Patrick's birth place are noticed though our author rejects them all and adopts the old view that Banaven [or Bannavem] Taberniae is to be located on the Clyde near Dumbarton. Dr. Heron in his *Celtic Church in Ireland* (pp. 68-71)—a work by the way not listed in the bibliography of the volume before us—has recently dealt with the subject and come to the same conclusion. Dr. Bury's view that Patrick's birthplace is in Glamorgan seems to us untenable as also Mr. Nicholson's who suggests Daventry in Northamptonshire. Patrick's visit to the continent is referred to but the commission by Pope Celestine, usually insisted on by Roman Catholic writers is not even mentioned in fact Muirchu Maccumachteni's statement in the *Tripartite Life* is quoted as proof that Patrick's intended visit to Rome was an unrealised project (p. 47). This subject of Patrick's so-called commission from Pope Celestine has been very thoroughly gone into by Dr. Heron who traces its origin to a statement in Tirechan's *Collections* and he shows that the contention is untenable on historical grounds. (*Celtic Church in Ireland*, pp. 84-95). In fact

the whole subject of Patrick's sojourn on the continent for thirty years seems to run directly in the teeth of certain statements in his *Confession*. He is said to have studied under two bishops, Amator and Germanus and our author when confronted with the barbarous Latin of the *Confession* gets over the difficulty by suggesting that he applied himself less to the study of *belles lettres* than to nourishing himself by piety and instructing himself in dogmas, (p. 47). Patrick is credited with having made a thorough study of the Bible whose teaching he assimilated in a remarkable way so that "his theological teaching is most orthodox" (p. 47). Eleven pages are devoted to an account of the "apostolic work of the saint" and when one remembers what he did for Ireland the space devoted to him is but his due.

The third chapter deals with the Expansion of Christianity and Monasticism and in a prefatory section the value of the "Lives" of Celtic saints is referred to. The abundance of the material is noticed but the defects of these "Lives" are also pointed out. For the most part they are written three, four or five centuries after the time of the persons whose work they profess to describe. Their clumsy improbabilities, their incoherences, and anachronisms render them but very doubtful helps at times. Another difficulty noted by an author which every student of Celtic hagiology must have also felt is that many of the saints—Irish in particular, have the same name. For instance, our author has counted up no less than a hundred Colmans. These biographers delighted in recounting the marvellous, and the more marvellous the stories the more pleasing they were to their clientèle. The sober facts of history were too tame for a credulous age. In view of all this the resolution of our author to use of these sources with "une grande circonspection" is eminently wise.

The Monasticism of the Celtic Church is one of its best known and outstanding features. It is not simply that monastic orders existed within its pale but as Skene says: "The entire Church appears to have been monastic, and her whole clergy embraced within the fold of the monastic rule" (*Celtic Scotland* II, 42). This is a feature unique in the organization of the Christian church and neither in the Latin or Greek churches do we find its parallel. Dom Gongaud, however, is not willing to admit that all the clergy were monks and holds that there was an order of "clergé séculier" (p. 67) and as his authority he quotes from a fragment of a penitential wrongly attributed to Gildas containing the following canon: "Si vero sine monachi voto presbiter aut diaconus peccaverit, sicut monachus sine gradu sic peniteat" (Haddan and Stubbs' *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents relating to Great Britain and Ireland*, I, 114). At p. 84 he says he agrees with Warren who says that the Celtic Church was "presque exclusivement monastique." But in turning up the reference Warren is stronger than these words indicate: "Not only was it [monasticism] a feature, as it is in the other churches East and West, which comprise a regular and secular side by side but the first church in these islands seems to have been at one time so far entirely monastic in its character that its hierarchy consisted of secular clergy almost exclusively, a smaller prest-

hood being, if not unknown, at most an inconsiderable minority (*Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church*, p. 12). Ireland furnishes us with the best illustration of Celtic monasticism. It differed not only from the monasticism of a Latin church in the point already referred to but also in this that women were also members of the monastic institution. That Irish monasticism was introduced by Patrick is generally recognized but whence had it its origin? Some, as Warren, hold that it came from the East, but this view is now generally set aside. In all likelihood, it came to Ireland through Patrick's contact with Martin of Tours. It spread with extraordinary rapidity and as an institution set about educational work with a zeal and a zest that made the Irish schools renowned as seminaries of learning. At Clonard 3000 students were under Finnian's direction and other noted missionaries had almost equal numbers under their tuition (p. 82). A brief paragraph is given to the Culdees. Since Reeves' masterly monograph on the *Culdees of the British Islands* appeared in 1864 nothing of the same kind for thoroughness and research has appeared. This is all the more to be regretted as much new material has come to light as late as some of the publications of the Scottish History Society, a material that is lying ready at hand for some enthusiast to arrange it for practical purposes. The other subjects treated under the general heading Monasticism are the rules of the monasteries, religious vows, the Celtic monastery, women and monasticism, the ascetic life.

Chapter IV is devoted to the Britains in Armorica. The causes and date of the emigration are referred to and their settlement in Armorica. The organization of the Armorican Church in Brittany as far as the abbot-bishops were concerned was similar to that of Ireland. In Brittany as in the Isles the monastic element was predominant (p. 124.) and as late as the 9th century not only the chapels but the parish churches were the private property of laymen (p. 125). It would appear that the Britons held out long for the recognition of the Bishop of Dol as their metropolitan but the Roman pontiffs opposed their aspirations and by a bull of Innocent III dated 1st June, 1199, the Bishop of Dol is asked to renounce his imaginary rights and to submit to the authority of the see of Tours; this Dom Gongaud designates: "L'Emancipation de l'église de Bretagne." Attention is called at this point to an interesting remark of M. Fournier in his *Etude sur les Fausses Décrétales* (*Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* VII. 761-784) that the abuses existing in the Celtic Church of Brittany are the very abuses which the authors of the False Decretals of Isidore sought to remedy. This leads him to locate "l'atelier pseudo-isidorien" in the province of Tours in the vicinity of Brittany probably at Mans (p. 133.)

In Chapter V attention is directed to the remarkable activity of the Irish missionaries. They found their way as far north as Iceland. The Orkney and Shetland Islands and the far north of Scotland were visited by them. Traces of their itineraries are to be found in the place-names and in the tradition of the people; Dr. Jakobsen, the foremost Norse scholar of his day in his researches connected with the old Norse came across many instances that pointed to the presence of these

Celtic missionaries and in the northern counties of Scotland there are indubitable evidences in the place-names of the territory traversed by the Pictish missionaries and their *muinntir* or associates. The Norse use two words in designating the missionaries—*monkr* (monks) and *papas* (priests) whether these are synonymous or not Dr. Jakobsen will not venture to say. I am inclined to think there is a distinction, though it can scarcely be the distinction we make in modern times between monks and priests. The great work carried on by Columba among the Dalriadic Scots and his mission to the Northern Piets belong to a later period and here it may be added that as far as Scotland is concerned there is need of clearly noting that Columba's work was largely confined to the Scots (though of course not altogether) while the Northern Piets were evangelised by missionaries of their own race from Ireland. This is notably the case with Donan, who has the unique distinction of being the only one of early missionaries whose life was taken from him though it can be scarcely be said that it was for his faith. There is an interesting section on the methods adopted by the missionaries in going from place to place (p. 160). They went forth in bands, usually about a dozen, sometimes more. Each band or *muinntir* had a chief. They set up little cells or huts—the modern *kills* or *kils* so common in place-names. These *kils* perpetuated their names for, as it has been pointed out by Haddan, the Celts named their churches after the *founders* and not, as the Latin church, after foreign saints. So that wherever you come across a church named after a Celtic saint you can invariably conclude that he had founded the church unless, of course, the name has been tampered with in later times by the Roman church.

The points of difference between the Latin and the Celtic Churches are dealt with at some length (Chap. VI). These are the Easter Controversy, the Celtic tonsure, the administration of baptism, Episcopal consecration. Dom Gongaud accepts the late Bishop Dowden's theory as to the Celtic tonsure (*An Examination of original Documents on the Question of the Form of the Celtic Tonsure, Proc. Soc. Antiq., Scotland, 1895-96, p. 325-337*). Briefly stated, the two tonsures may be described as follows: The Roman tonsure was formed by the top of the head being shaved close, and a circle or crown of hair left to grow around it, while the Celtic, like the Roman, showed a fringe of hair in front, yet the top of the head was not shaved beyond a line drawn from ear to ear, so that viewed from behind there was nothing that marked the ecclesiastic or monk from the ordinary layman. According to the Latin Church there must be three bishops present to render an Episcopal ordination canonical but in the Celtic Church one bishop was sufficient. The plain fact of the matter is that episcopal government was absolutely unknown in it. And neither Episcopalian nor Presbyterian need spend time trying to shew how near the Celtic Church is to their own particular system of church government for had features which both Presbyterian and Episcopalian if consistent must reject. The differences between the Latin and the Celtic Church are recognized by some to have been trifling while others again, such as Warren and

most recently Dr. Heron, shew that the differences were serious enough (*Celtic Church in Ireland*, Chap. III).

Chapters are given to the Clergy and Ecclesiastical Institutions (Chap. VII); Intellectual Culture and Theological Teaching (Chap. VIII); Liturgy and Private Devotion (Chap. IX); The Christian Arts (Chap. X) and finally The Gradual Weakening of the Particular Celtic Churches (Chap. XI). All these subjects are dealt with in the same able and painstaking way. There is a fairness and broadmindedness in the whole treatment of the subject that one does not usually associate with ecclesiastics of the Roman Church. That Dom Gongaud's sympathies lie that way is evident enough as we notice in his description of the Celtic Church in Ireland and Scotland coming under the jurisdiction of Rome—it is a case of "La réformé ecclésiastique en Irlande" and "Les reformes ecclésiastiques en Écosse." But we have here no attempt to Vaticanize the Celtic Church. There can be little doubt that this is one of the most comprehensive and thorough treatments the history of the Celtic Church has received and while the subject is one bristling with controversy our author has conducted the discussion of his theme admirably. An invaluable bibliography (pp. vii-xxxv) helps to give a completeness to the book.

Wick, Scotland.

D. BEATON

LA RÉFORMATION ET LA RÉVOLUTION: La Réforme et le Moyen-Age; La Réforme et les Temps Modernes. Deux Conférences données dans le salle de la Société d'encouragement pour l'industrie, le 17 et le 21 avril 1910. PAR E. DOUMERGUE, Doyen de la Faculté libre de Théologie de Montauban. Editions de *Foi et Vie*, 48, Rue de Lille, Paris. 1910. 12mo, pp. 69.

Readers of this REVIEW will not have forgotten the instructive article by Dean Doumergue entitled *Calvin: Epigone or Creator* which was published in its number for January 1909 (pp. 52-104). They will be glad to be reminded of the message of that article by these two stirring addresses, in which the substance of what was said in it is presented afresh, in moving discourse which rises to the height of genuine eloquence. Their theme is, stated baldly, the relation of the Reformation, on the one hand, to the Middle-Ages, on the other, to Modern Times; it really is, the glory of the Reformation as the conservator of all that was good in the old world, the fertile source of all that is good in the new world. In the first address Dean Doumergue confronts those who declare that the Reformation merely continued the Middle Ages, and Modern life had its birth only in the Enlightenment of the eighteenth century; in the second he confronts those who declare that the Reformation merely broke the way for the Revolution and is chargeable with all the portentous fruits of that upheaval. His answer to the first contention is that the Reformation can be confounded with the Middle Ages only by those who confound the Middle Ages with Christianity. For that in the Middle Ages which the Reformation has preserved is only its Christianity,—its Christianity cleansed, how-

ever, from that which made the Christianity of the Middle Ages what we always think of when we call their name, viz., Romanism. And in cleansing Christianity from Romanism, it struck the shackles off of man and society and gave birth to a new individual, a new social order, a new industry, in one word, to the modern world. His answer to the second contention is that the Reformation can be confounded with the Revolution only by those who confound the emancipation of the human spirit from slavery to its fellows with the casting off from the human spirit of dependence on and obligation to its maker. For what in the Revolution may claim to be derived from the Reformation is only the sense of the value of the individual; that exaltation of self and mocking at duty which accompany the emancipation of the Revolution have no part or parcel in the Reformation.

If any one thinks that the Reformation has conserved the Middle Ages,—this is not the opinion, says Dean Doumerque slyly, of Rome itself. How would it do to tell a Caraffa or a Torquemada: "You are making a mistake! The Reformation is nothing but a refinement of your own ideas and your own methods; what it really does is just to make them more efficacious, more durable; it assures you of two-hundred, it may be a thousand, years of longer life; the Calvinists—they are really your saviour. Instead of burning them, you should thank them." This has not hitherto been the Roman view. If it is the true view, what a blunder has been the desolation of the Netherlands, England, Germany, France, Hungary, to say nothing of what the Inquisition has accomplished in Italy and Spain! Nor does the modern irresponsible individualism quite recognize the Reformation as its source. "It is true,—and we are glad to recognize it—that in breaking down all the slaveries of man to other men, that is, in declaring that between the believer and God there is neither church nor priest nor any man whatever, the Reformation was, as over against the Middle Ages, an explosion of individualism. But, gentlemen, individualism is a word, and we must never let ourselves be duped by words, whether by way of being seduced by them or by way of being frightened by them. . . . Let us look the reality in the face. And this is the reality. According to the individualism of the Revolution, man is good. This is the initial, fundamental, great dogma proclaimed by the gospel of Jean-Jacques. . . . Jean-Jacques did not invent this dogma; it is part of the great dogma of all paganisms past and future, we may say, indeed, of paganism . . . Such is the individual according to paganism and the confession of the most celebrated doctor of the Revolution. And the individual according to the most celebrated doctor of the Reformation? Many of you know it by heart; it is repeated by the Protestants every Sunday in their churches: 'Lord God, eternal and almighty Father, we acknowledge and confess before Thy Holy Majesty, that we are poor sinners, born in corruption, prone to evil, incapable of ourselves of any good, who transgress every day and in divers manners Thy holy commandments, by which we merit in Thy just judgment condemnation and death.'—A confession against which a child of the

Revolution has protested with a passion, derived, as we may believe, from another pagan, Celsus, disciple of Fronto: 'No one can enter, erect, this paradise whose gates grace alone opens; we must go in on all fours.' Thus, gentlemen, on one side the individual is—good, according to Pelagius and according to Rousseau. The Middle Ages said the individual is good; to correct his faults only external things are needed, such as the ecclesiastical organization, with its sacraments and indulgences; the Revolution has continued to say the individual is good and to correct his errors only external things are needed, such as political and social laws. While on the other side, the individual is according to Calvin, bad, and to correct his errors and to expiate his sins, not all the ecclesiastical organizations and not all the political constitutions, not all the Middle Ages and not all the Revolution can suffice, because he needs to be created anew by God—nothing less. And therefore, either we must contend that paganism has given birth to Christianity, that Pelagianism has given birth to Calvinism, or else we must recognize that the individual according to Calvin is as contrary to the individual according to the Revolution, as to the individual according to the Middle Ages; nay we must go a step further and recognize that the individualism of the Revolution might come from the Middle Ages, but that the individualism of the Revolution could never come from the Reformation!"

We have been tempted to quote this long passage because it fairly represents both the tone of Dean Doumergue's argument and the quality of his eloquence. The gist of his contention at this particular point is that the Reformation proclaimed the rights of man indeed, but recognizing this man as wicked, surrounded these rights with guarantees, by which alone they could be protected; the Revolution proclaiming man to be good, casts off all guarantees, and leaves man helpless before the corruptions which assail him and drown his boasted Liberty, Equality, Fraternity in licence, tyranny and slavery. The Addresses must be read at large, however, that their *élan* may be appreciated. It is too little to say that they make good their contention. They cover the enemy with confusion and fill the reader with enthusiasm for that Protestantism, taught by Calvin, which is the one hope of the world.

Princeton.

BENJ. B. WARFIELD.

LEBENSBLDER AUS DER GESCHICHTE DER CHRISTLICHEN KIRCHE. Für lutherische Leser Nordamerikas ausgewählt und bearbeitet von E. A. WILH. KRAUSZ, Professor am Concordia-Seminar zu St. Louis, Mo. St. Louis, Mo.: Concordia Publishing House. 1911. 4to, pp. viii + 800.

It is a good sign when the laity of the church have the disposition to read such works as the one before us, and it is a good thing that from time to time the history of the church is re-written in popular form for the edification of the laity. The volume before us is a good example of the printer's art in the first place and full of instruction regarding the growth of the church also. It contains upwards of forty

illustrations, some of them occupying a double page, many of them being copies of masterpieces of Christian art, others being portraits of more modern leaders. Besides these there are several colored reproductions from early editions of the Bible and Luther's Catechism of 1529. As to the matter, in forty-two sections the author gives brief sketches of important events or phases of the churches life from apostolic times down to our own times, the Lutheranism in American being treated in the last three chapters, concerning Mühlberg, Walther and Wyneken respectively. Prof. Krausz, of course, has had Lutheranism in mind in preparing the volume, as indeed he says he writes especially for Lutherans. This is evident not only from the prominence given to Luther (about a hundred pages) but also from his avoidance of the Calvinistic churches. John Calvin, indeed, is given fourteen pages, but these are chiefly devoted to showing how harsh and ungenial he was and with what strictures he disciplined Geneva (Luther's gaiety is favorably contrasted with it), but the reformation in Scotland and the struggles in Holland receive no recognition. Still the book is a handsome and useful one.

Princeton.

KERR D. MACMILLAN.

FAMOUS PLACES OF THE REFORMED CHURCHES. A Religious Guidebook to Europe. By Rev. Prof. JAMES I. GOOD, D.D., Professor of Reformed Church History in the Central Theological Seminary of the Reformed Church in the U. S. Together with a chapter by Rev. MARCUS BROWNSON, D.D., Philadelphia: Heidelberg Press. 1910. Pp. 445.

There can be no doubt that this is a most entertaining book. Professor Good has evidently had sufficient experience with travellers to know what is required in a popular guide book. Arranging his matter according to localities he has given us nothing less than a succinct account of the fortunes (not the doctrines) of the Reformed Church in Europe from the sixteenth century until the present day. And what a story it is! What heroism, what suffering, what faithfulness in almost impossible circumstances, what successes and what failures are again brought to mind by this little volume! A well-told incident brings vividly before us the seige of Leyden, the hunted "Church in the Desert," the fleeing Huguenots, the battle of the Boyne. Nor is Prof. Good interested only in the days of struggle. He tells also of more recent progress, of the revivals of the last century in Switzerland, Bohemia, and elsewhere; of the founding of Bible societies and missionary societies; and with an eye true to the tourist's interest he has run such things to the ground, telling the story of the individual responsible and setting him in his proper surroundings. Altogether this is a very handy book for the Protestant and especially the Reformed tourist to put in his bag before starting for Europe.

But this is not all that we wish to say. The general reader who wishes to have in brief compass some account of the Reformed Churches on the Continent cannot do better than buy this one. As we said, there is very little of doctrine in it, but many of our American readers will be

surprised to find in what far away corners of Europe the Reformed Theology held its place through the dark years of persecution, and is now under more tolerant governments beginning to show its power.

The chapter on Edinburgh is by Dr. Marcus A. Brownson, and what has been said of the work as a whole applies equally well to it. An appendix gives a list of some fifty odd churches on the Continent where Reformed and Presbyterian services are held in English; but it is to be regretted that there is no index. The book deserves one.

Princeton.

KERR D. MACMILLAN.

BEITRÄGE ZUR BYZANTINISCHEN KULTURGESCHICHTE AM AUSGANG DES IV JAHRHUNDERTS AUS DEN SCHRIFTEN DES JOHANNES CHRYSOSTOMOS. Von Rev. J. MILTON VANCE, Dr. Phil. (Jena), Mercer Professor of Biblical Instruction, Wooster University, Wooster, Ohio, U. S. A. Jena, 1907. Universitätsbuchdruckerei, G. Neuenhahn. 8vo. pp. 82.

Dr. Vance's book is unfortunately not on sale, being a dissertation which was presented to the faculty of the University of Jena, and as such, privately printed. We had already seen notices of it, and were glad when it came into our hands for review. After reading it we cannot but congratulate the young author on his first *Arbeit*, and express the hope that he may continue his work in the early history of the Church. If we are not mistaken, an English edition of the present essay enlarged, perhaps, from the literature with which he shows himself acquainted, would prove popular as well as useful. What Dr. Vance has done is to go through the works of the Christian preacher and bishop, John Chrysostom, and cull from them whatever relates to the customs and manners of the time. Of course Chrysostom never dreamed of his works being used for this purpose, and they do not therefore yield a completed picture. But on the other hand, there was no one of his day, probably, better acquainted with the people, and his popular sermons are necessarily full of references to the manner of life, the customs, superstitions, pastimes and faults of his contemporaries. These references Dr. Vance has gathered and arranged nicely in thirteen short chapters, practically without comment of his own, so that we get, immediately as possible, a fairly good picture of the culture of the capital of the Eastern empire, just at the time when Christianity in the flush of victory was attempting to dominate the world.

Princeton.

KERR D. MACMILLAN.

A GUIDE TO THE STUDY OF CHURCH HISTORY. By W. J. MCGLOTHLIN, Ph.D., (Berlin), D.D., Professor of Church History in the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville, Ky. Louisville, Ky., U. S. A.: Baptist World Publishing Co. 1908. Pp. 264.

Prof. McGlothlin's volume is what its title implies, a guide to the study of Church History. It is written for English-speaking students and assumes that they have at hand some half dozen manuals representing almost as many confessional standpoints and that they will read

them. The purpose of the Guide is "to present the essentials of church history in a form so compact as to appeal to the eye and be easily remembered, and at the same time to direct the student to wider reading on the various subjects." There are no maps and the tables given in the twelve-page appendix relate only to the names and dates of rulers and councils. A second edition—which we have no doubt will soon be necessary—might be enhanced by additional tables in which heresies, theological views of the schoolmen, the monkish orders, the views of the reformers, and other such matters were presented in parallel columns. And should not a student be encouraged to read Milman and Neander?

As a guide this book may be highly commended. It is brief, concise and unpartisan. The student who conscientiously takes the course prescribed here will know a great deal of church history and about church history.

Princeton.

K. D. MACMILLAN.

KURZGEFASSTE KIRCHENGESCHICHTE FÜR STUDIERENDE. Besonders zum Gebrauch bei Repetitionen von Lic. Theol. H. APPEL. Teil 2: Kirchengeschichte des Mittelalters. Mit verschiedenen Tabellen und Karten. Leipzig: A. Deichert'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung Nachf. 1910. SS. viii, 292. Price 3.80 m.

The first volume of this work has not come into our hands. The purpose of the author is to provide students with a means of recalling and organizing the results of work in the classroom and library. It may be used for "cramming", but the author hopes it will not be. In any such work the chief desideratum is a convenient arrangement of the material; completeness and even accuracy, as an omission or occasional lapse is easily rectified, are secondary. With this understanding Lic. Appel's book may be highly commended. More than one half of the space is devoted to tables, by which the reader can see at a glance the succession and to some extent the logical connection of related events during a longer or shorter period. These tables have reference to the Eastern Emperors and the monophysitic quarrels, the crusades, missions in the Middle Ages, the regulations concerning Papal elections, the councils, Knightly orders, lay orders, bulls, scholasticism, &c., as well as the more familiar lists of popes, rulers, noteworthy events, synchronisms, topical, personal and geographical indices. As a further aid, two double pages of maps are appended, of which the first is, as far as we have tested it, a good working map of central Europe; of the second which contains eight smaller maps of the outlying districts, not so much can be said.

In the narrative portions the writer has been able to compress a really remarkable amount of information within very small compass. We find not only the bare facts concerning say Francis of Assisi or John Wiclif, but get some idea of the progression of their thinking and working, and a brief and sane estimate of their lives. The chief writings of the schoolmen and others are named and frequently a brief summary added. The author frequently allows himself to forget the objectivity which

should characterize a reference book of this kind, and his own judgments are often lacking in depth and discernment. But in spite of this, Lic. Appel has produced the best compendium of its kind (Heussi's *Kompendium* has a different purpose).

Princeton.

KERR D. MACMILLAN.

CENTRALFRAGEN DER DOGMATIK IN DER GEGENWART. Sechs Vorlesungen von Dr. LUDWIG IHMELS, o. Professor der Theologie in Leipzig. Leipzig: A. Deichert'sche Vorlagsbuchhandlung Nachf. 1911. Ss. 188.

The author of these lectures is well known by his numerous articles and pamphlets on theological subjects, and especially by his larger work on the nature and grounds of Christian certitude—*Die christliche Wahrheitsgewissheit, ihr letzter Grund und ihre Entstehung*. In the present six lectures he discusses some of the central questions of Systematic Theology, with especial reference to current theological thought. These questions are not only "central"; they are vital to the Christian Faith as can be seen by simply giving the topics of the lectures in order—Faith and Dogma, The Essence of Christianity and its "Absoluteness" or Finality, The Nature of Revelation, The Person of Christ, The Work of Christ, and the Certitude of Faith.

The lectures are not disconnected discussions of these subjects; there is a logical progress leading from one topic to the next, which gives the volume a certain unity and completeness. Thus Prof. Ihmels begins by raising the question as to the validity and usefulness of Dogmatics in general, which leads him to point out the essential place of doctrine in Christianity over against Dreyer's demand for an "undogmatic Christianity". Having shown the necessity for dogma, Ihmels criticises Kaftan's demand for a "new dogma", seeking to vindicate the right of the "old dogma" in the present time. This leads naturally to a statement of the nature of Christianity, and since "absoluteness" or finality is found to be an essential element in Christianity conceived as a communion with God through Christ, the finality of the Christian religion is next defended against the position of Troeltsch. Ihmels rests this claim of Christianity on Christian experience and on the Christian revelation. Consequently the decision of this question as to the finality of the Christian religion rests ultimately on the nature of the Christian revelation, which is the subject of the third lecture. Ihmels rejects what he calls the intellectualistic idea of revelation of the old Dogmatics. He finds the beginnings of what seems to him to be a more adequate idea in Schleiermacher and especially in Rothe. He criticises, however, the views of Rothe and Kaftan, and then proceeds to expound his own view, emphasizing the idea of a revelation through the great Christian facts, and showing at the same time the necessity for what is called a "word-revelation" to explain the meaning of these facts. The nature of this revelation, however, depends ultimately on the Person of Christ, since He is the central fact of the Christian revelation. Consequently the Person and Work of Christ occupy the next two lectures. The volume closes with a lecture on the Ground

of Christian Certitude, in which Ihmels criticises the views of Kaftan and Troeltsch, sets forth his agreement in general with Frank in seeking the ground of Christian certitude in Christian experience, and finally indicates the points in which he differs from Frank, both in respect to the central element in Christian experience and to the way in which it affords basis for Christian certitude.

Professor Ihmels' general theological position is somewhat eclectic. He is "conservative" or "positive" in that he asserts the supernatural character of Christianity, the Deity of Christ, and the Godward reference of the Atonement. He shows strongly the influence of Frank and the Erlangen theology in the place given to Christian experience as the chief ground of Christian faith, and in his emphasis on the "experimental" character of religious knowledge, and, though much of his polemic is directed against Ritschl and Kaftan, he is not uninfluenced by those theologians.

The main defect in the volume is its too concessive spirit and method. This is not only detrimental to its scientific value; it leads the author into inconsistencies and ambiguous statements which mar an otherwise clear presentation of the subjects under discussion. This may be illustrated by two important instances.

Let us take, for example, the author's view of the nature of the Christian revelation (pp. 55-80). He emphasizes the idea that revelation is primarily a self-manifestation of God in history, and that it is in consequence chiefly a revelation through historic facts. He makes this the basis of his criticism of the conception of revelation in the "old Dogmatics," which, according to Ihmels, was too "intellectualistic" in that it conceived of revelation as the "communication of truth" by God to man. He has the same fault to find with Rothe's conception because he did not give due weight to the historical aspect of revelation, and was in danger of falling into the old "intellectualism" since he overemphasized the element in revelation which he called Illumination or the preparation by the Spirit of the mind of the prophet which was to enable him to understand the revelation through the great historic facts. On the other hand Kaftan, Ihmels thinks, while in a similar danger of "intellectualism", since he speaks of the great facts of Christianity as themselves "a communication of truth", nevertheless does not do justice to the necessity for a revelation through words in order to interpret the Christian facts. Ihmels' idea is that the Christian revelation consists primarily in God's entering history for man's salvation, especially in the Person of Jesus Christ. But in order that this revelation may be interpreted, understood, and reach those for whom it was intended, a "word revelation" is necessary, and this is given by the Spirit of God.

Ihmels' conception of revelation, however, is not clearly thought out nor distinguished sharply from the views he is opposing. The question arises—what is this "word-revelation" and how is it made? If it is given by the Spirit and is to give an understanding of the Christian facts, and if it does this by an authoritative interpretation of those facts, then it is difficult to see in what respect Ihmels' view differs

from the "old view" which he rejects as too "intellectualistic". If, on the other hand, this word-revelation is merely a spiritual preparation of the Prophet or Apostle, to enable him to receive the fact-revelation, then his view would not appear to differ much from that of Rothe. Moreover, if this "word-revelation", or, to be perfectly clear, the Scripture doctrines, are given in a supernatural manner to man, then once more we would seem to have the "old view"; whereas if these truths are not supernaturally given, but simply the result of human reflection upon the Christian facts, then, since these facts by themselves do not constitute the whole of Revelation, it is exceedingly difficult to see wherein the specific character of the Christian revelation consists.

In consequence of this lack of definiteness, Ihmels' discussion of the claim of Christianity to a "specifically supernatural" revelation over against the view of Troeltsch, is wavering and weak. The question raised is whether the historically conditioned character of Christianity is compatible with its claim to supernatural origin. The answer to this question, Ihmels says, depends on the way it is put. The question he thinks, is not whether in the sphere of history we can distinguish between what is natural and what is supernatural; but whether *all* (*italics mine*) historically conditioned events are not at the same time the effects of God's action in history. The fact that Christianity is "historically conditioned" cannot, Ihmels thinks, be urged against its supernatural origin unless this "universal supernaturalism" be denied, and this would do away with all religion. This "universal supernaturalism", however, he says, does not militate against Christianity's claim to a "specific supernaturalism", because, if the presence of God in history be admitted, there is no ground for affirming what forms it may or may not have taken.

But this is no reply at all to Troeltsch. If this so called "universal supernaturalism" is just God's providential control of all history and His general revelation to the human mind, this is precisely what Troeltsch affirms, and no adequate ground has been given for the claim that Christianity rests on a revelation specifically different from that in all religious thought. Nor is there any adequate ground for the specifically supernatural character of the Christian facts or history. If, on the other hand, the kind of supernaturalism involved in Christianity's claim implies a direct intrusion by God into the sphere of history and psychic life apart from second causes, then the fact of the so called "universal supernaturalism" or in other words of the Divine Providence, is not a proof of the specific supernaturalism of Christianity which Troeltsch denies, and which Ihmels wishes to defend.

The cause of this want of clearness appears to be a concessiveness toward the anti-supernaturalistic tendencies of the views which the author is attacking. This weakens greatly the force of his polemic.

Another striking instance of this concessive spirit is seen in the lecture on the Person of Christ (pp. 81-103). Ihmels begins by going straight to the point and asserting that the issue is between those who

regard Christ merely as a religious hero and those who affirm His essential Deity; all "mediating attempts" being impossible. The author affirms his belief in the Deity of Christ, gives the evidence for it, and then proceeds to a sharp criticism of Ritchl's view which would reduce our Lord's Deity to a matter of religious value only. In proceeding to the discussion of the Person of Christ, however, Ihmels seems to have forgotten all that he said in the first part of the lecture. Three attempts, he says, have been made to conceive of Christ as at once divine and human. The first proceeds from the idea of the "self-emptying" of a pre-existent Being. This view Ihmels rejects as being contrary to the unchangeableness of God. The reason for Ihmels' identification of the idea of the Incarnation in general with the Kenotic theory, is evidently because he is unwilling to accept the doctrine of the Two Natures without which the Incarnation cannot be conceived otherwise than as involving a metamorphosis of God into man. The second attempt, that of a gradual entrance of God into humanity, Ihmels also rejects as unsatisfactory. He accepts the third view which he says attempts to make clear "how the divine life can empty itself entirely in the reality of a human life" without ceasing to be divine, by means of the thought of the divine love whose very nature it is to sacrifice itself. If we ask, from the metaphysical standpoint, how we are to conceive of the divine and the human in Christ, Ihmels says that this is simply a specific form of the old metaphysical difficulty as to how the "eternal God can enter the sphere of time without ceasing to be eternal." These metaphysical questions, he says, it is not possible to answer.

But has he not thus abandoned the metaphysical Deity of Christ for which he so strongly contended at the beginning of this lecture? This "solution" of the Christological problem might satisfy one who believed that Christ was a mere man in whom God's love was supremely manifested; but Ihmels rejected this view. A similar mode of statement is used by the Kenotic writers who would have us believe that no objection to the Kenotic theory can be urged from the unchangeableness of God, since that is a metaphysical attribute, whereas God is essentially love. But what meaning can the above "solution" have for Ihmels who has just strongly asserted the essential Deity of Christ in a "metaphysical" sense, and affirmed that in the interests of the Christian faith these metaphysical Christological questions cannot be avoided? This is simply another instance of Ihmels' concessiveness to his opponents which leads him into inconsistencies and detracts from the value of these lectures.

On the other hand, the book is not by any means without its merits. Written in a clear style; to a large extent clear in the course of its thought; showing the author's thorough acquaintance with modern theological literature, and treating each topic in direct relation to the present state of its discussion; this volume is well adapted to serve as an introduction to the study of these great questions, every one of which is vital to the Christian faith.

Princeton.

C. W. HODGE.

SYSTEMATIC THEOLOGY.

AT ONEMENT OR RECONCILIATION WITH GOD. By GEORGE COULSON WORKMAN, M.A., PH.D. Formerly Professor of Old Testament Exegesis and Literature in Victoria University, Cobourg, and latterly in Wesleyan Theological College, Montreal. Fleming H. Revell Co., New York, Chicago, Toronto, London, and Edinburgh: 1911. Pp. 237.

This is a somewhat elaborate attempt to prove that the Moral Influence theory of Atonement is the Scriptural view; that the ideas of expiation and propitiation are of pagan origin; and that such ideas as satisfaction, penalty, substitution, and imputation, are inventions of theologians which have no Scriptural basis. In a word, Dr. Workman's view is that the work of Christ is simply designed to bring the sinner to repentance and to win him back to God who freely pardons his sin as soon as he repents of it.

In the boldness with which Scripture statements are tortured out of their natural meaning, the author's methods of exegesis resemble those of Socinus in his *De Christo Salvatore*. Thus in 2 Cor. v. 21, where Paul says of Christ that "Him who knew no sin, He (God) made to be sin on our behalf, in order that we might become the righteousness of God in Him", Dr. Workman affirms that Paul is only using a paradox in order to produce a strong impression, and that he does not mean that the guilt of our sin was laid upon Christ, but only that God "appointed Christ to do a certain work, and permitted Him in the performance of it to be treated as if He had been a sinner." Equal violence is done to the Apostle's statement in Gal. iii.13, where Christ is said to have redeemed us from the curse of the law by "having become a curse for us", which is said by Dr. Workman to mean only that Christ "allowed Himself to be treated as one accursed".

These are fair samples of the violent methods of exegesis employed by the author in his attempt to show that the Christian Church has from the beginning misread the Bible on this great doctrine.

Princeton.

C. W. HODGE.

THE COMING CREED. By PARLEY PAUL WOMER. Sherman, French & Company: Boston. 1911. Pp. 88.

When one reads the Preface of this little book, he gets the idea that it is to be another of the many pleas for an undogmatic Christianity. We are told that Christianity is a life, not a system of doctrine, and that the Christian Church does not need the "simplification" of its creed, so much as the "absolute surrender" of the "dogmatic ideal". But when one reads the subsequent pages, he soon finds that the author has his own creed, which he ventures to call the coming creed, but which has for centuries opposed the truths which the Christian Church has always regarded as essential to Christianity.

It is not so much what this creed affirms, as it is what it omits to affirm or even positively denies, that renders it so far removed from the Christianity of the New Testament. It is true that God is love,

or rather that love is one of God's attributes; it is true that Christ manifested the love of God; it is true that men should imitate Christ, and should love God and one another. But when this is put forth as the whole of Christianity, it betrays a most lamentable lack of exegetical and historical insight. Such a lack as to render this little volume of small value to anyone desirous of learning the nature of Christianity.

Princeton.

C. W. HODGE.

JUSTIFICATION. *An Essay read before the Augustana E. L. Conference; and published by its order.* By PROFESSOR W. H. T. DAU. Concordia Publishing House, St. Louis, Mo. Second Edition. 1911. Pp. 60.

This little pamphlet expounds in a popular manner the Protestant doctrine of Justification on account of the righteousness of Christ, imputed to the sinner, and received by faith alone. It will serve, we hope, to extend the knowledge of this great doctrine.

Princeton.

C. W. HODGE.

PRACTICAL THEOLOGY.

SOCIAL ASPECTS OF THE CROSS. By HENRY SLOANE COFFIN, Minister in the Madison Avenue Presbyterian Church and Associate Professor of Homiletics in Union Theological Seminary. New York: Hodder & Stoughton. George H. Doran Company, 1911.

This attractive little volume comprises four striking papers or sermons on the light thrown by the cross of our Saviour on "Sin", "Duty", "Man" and "God". These sermons are written in a fine style; they are illuminated by original and telling illustrations; their teachings are pointed by apt quotations both from the Bible and the great masters of literature; and they contain many passages, particularly the sermon on "Man", as true as they are striking and chaste. It must, however, be added—and the reviewer does it with regret—that the volume as a whole is marred and weakened by a strange looseness of thought, as, for example, in the sermon on "Duty", in which the radical distinction between the justice and the goodness of God is ignored and even explicitly denied. "The cross, then, is part of God's justice; that which he feels he owes us." "He could not be just without saving us." But if this be so, can salvation be any longer of grace and can mercy be mercy? What makes grace grace is that it is not due, either because deserved by the sinner or because obligated by anything that God is or has done; and what makes mercy mercy is precisely that it is "optional". The power of the love of God as revealed by the cross is that it is not required even by his essential righteousness; and it would lose all its power, if we had to admit, as Prof. Coffin implies, that God would have done less than his duty, had he suffered every man himself to bear the eternal penalty of his own sin. In a word, when we make the cross a necessity of God's nature instead of the free expression of his will, the divine love ceases to be love.

Princeton.

WILLIAM BRENTON GREENE, JR.

THE HYMNAL. Published in 1895 and Revised in 1911 by authority of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America. Philadelphia: The Presbyterian Board of Publication and Sabbath School Work. Cloth, pp. 694, 8vo. Price \$1.00; introduction price \$0.75. Smaller edition, hymns and tunes, cloth, \$0.75; introduction price \$0.60.

This Revised Edition of The Hymnal probably surpasses in excellence all existing books of Christian praise. It is certain to receive from the church the cordial reception and immediate adoption it so richly deserves. Its relation to the previous edition cannot be set forth more clearly and briefly than in the following extract from the Preface: "The Hymnal was published in October, 1895, with a preface setting forth the principles which governed its preparation. The present edition marks no departure from these principles, and no change in the general character of the book. It has been prepared with a two-fold aim:

First: to make a thorough revision of the materials in the light of sixteen years' practical use of the book. Hymns and tunes failing to establish themselves in popular favor have been removed. Many tunes have been set in lower keys or modified in harmony, in the interests of congregational singing. In these matters the Committee has been fortunate in having the sympathetic co-operation of the Musical Editor. The text of the hymns has been minutely scrutinized from the point of view of accuracy, of rhythm, and of sincere worship: the text of the Psalter continues to be that of the standard of the American Bible Society. The arrangement of the main body of hymns under the subjects of the Apostles' Creed has been more completely carried out, with a view to assist the memory in locating hymns; and the system of cross references has been extended. The notes upon the history of hymns and tunes have been carefully restudied and revised.

Second: to bring the book abreast of the latest developments of hymnody, and of the present state of Christian thought and feeling; especially to meet the demand for the recognition of God's nearness to every-day living, the coming of the kingdom in the sphere of common life and service, social betterment, and evangelistic work. In the choice of new tunes preference has been given to those whose acceptability has been elsewhere tested in actual use; and some familiar tunes have been restored."

Princeton.

CHARLES R. ERDMAN.

THE WESTMINSTER HYMNAL. For Congregational and Social Use and for the Sunday School. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication and Sabbath School Work. 1911. Pp. 268. Price 30 cents post-paid; \$25.00 per 100 copies, net.

This is an admirable collection of hymns, and published at a remarkably low price. It is specially designed for churches making use of one book in all the services. It is an excellent hymnal for the Sunday-School, but is also well adapted for evangelistic services,

for devotional meetings, the home and personal use. The fact should be emphasized that it is a collection of familiar hymns which have won their place in the hearts of Christians, and have stood the test of years. The tunes selected are likewise the most familiar, melodious and easily played. The arrangement of the book follows the plan of *The Hymnal*, but many of the hymns, more particularly adapted to the Sunday School, are not found in the larger book. The collection includes two hundred and eighty-one hymns, to which are added thirteen selections from the Psalter arranged for responsive reading. This book merits the highest praise and should be of great service to the Church, the Sunday-School and the home.

Princeton.

CHARLES R. ERDMAN.

MISSIONS AND MODERN THOUGHT. BY WILLIAM OWEN CARVER, M.A., TH.D. Professor of Comparative Religion and Missions in the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary. New York. The Macmillan Company. Cloth, 16 mo., pp. 324. Price \$1.50 *net*.

This is an able defense before the court of modern thought of the enterprise of Christian Missions. It is possible that this "modern thought", in some of its phases, is itself more in need of defense than the writer indicates; and it is even possible that some readers will regard less complacently than does the author the probable effect of this thought upon missionary zeal; yet this volume cannot fail to be of interest and value not only to those who are interested in Christian apologetics but to all who are concerned in the evangelization of the world.

After noting a prevalent scepticism of the whole principle of foreign missions which is not due to "ignorance" but to "learning", the writer describes the radical character of modern thinking in the sphere of philosophy and religion, mentioning the modern views of the Bible, of theology, and of the relation of God to the universe; and shows that there is none the less, a growing interest in the World's Christianization. That such an interest and such a cause are reasonable is shown from the facts, that the Gospel has proved, in history, to be the greatest factor in the progress of the race; that the history of Christianity has ever been a missionary history; that what is best in the new era of the world is due to the influence of Christianity. Therefore, to abandon missions would be treason against the spirit of Christianity, the repudiation of history, the absurdity of reason.

Nor is the legitimacy of Christian propagandism to be denied in the light of the study of Comparative Religion; for Christianity is essentially a cosmopolitan religion, fitted to be the final and universal religion.

Nor do the serious social problems in Christian lands, and the sectarian divisions in the Christian Church, and the present disintegration of Christian theology, and the popular denial of the supernatural, and the claims of destructive Biblical criticism demand the abandonment of missionary activities. Rather do such activities react salutary influences upon all these factors of modern life.

The motives and ends of missions as understood to-day are in remarkable harmony with those of the New Testament, and the modern aim and method of missions are being determined by men who are not ignorant or unmindful of the best modern thought.

Such, in brief, seem to be the somewhat optimistic but encouraging conclusions of the author.

Princeton.

CHARLES R. ERDMAN.

THE IDEAL OF JESUS. BY WILLIAM NEWTON CLARKE. New York. Charles Scribner's Sons. Cloth. pp. 329, price \$1.50 *net*.

However widely one may differ from the theological position of this well known author, none can fail to be delighted with the charm of his literary style and the method of his discussions. It is a relief to find the great problems of religion stated in language from which all conventional theological terms are purposely excluded. Yet the very simplicity of statement begets at times a suspicion of superficiality of thought. The reader has a haunting sense that the writer, all unconsciously, is not telling the whole story. As one pauses to consider what has been said, well said and truly, he regrets that more has not been said; and in weighing the partial truths he even longs for an occasional theological phrase, if such a phrase is the only means of importing the missing realities.

In this present volume the occasion of the serious omissions is frankly admitted by the author when he declares that in his endeavor to rediscover primitive Christianity, or to restate the religion of Jesus, he rejects the testimony of the Gospel of John, and gives no consideration to the New Testament Epistles, and is even quite unconcerned as to how small a part of the Synoptics may be regarded as reliable sources of information.

A Christianity derived from such data may be something larger than the writer describes, but it must be much less than the religion which finds its source and centre and substance in a divine Christ. In the conception of the writer Christianity consists in "The Ideal of Jesus". It is indeed a religious and an ethical ideal. It finds its true illustration in the attitude of uncompromising loyalty to righteousness which Jesus exhibited when tempted, at the beginning of his ministry, and again by the suggestion of Peter at Caesarea Philippi. The embodiment of the ideal is found in "the kingdom of God", which "came with Jesus", and is "an order and method of life here and now". Yet the picture of the true ideal must be filled out in detail by remembering the righteousness of heart and will for which Jesus called, and the two-fold law of love upon which he insisted. In another light the ideal of Jesus is that of the life of a child of God. It is also a life which has found deliverance from evil through a new birth and through repentance and self-sacrifice. It is, in brief, a life that is "as good as can be made," in all the three great relations; namely, toward God, in one's self, and toward other men. The Church has been organized "for the purpose of taking care of the life in which Christianity consisted, and of promoting the work

which the life is to do"; and the acceptance of this conception will draw into fellowship communions now separated. The recognition of the ideal of Jesus will revolutionize and reorganize Society.

Such seem to be the main positions of the volume. They very truly suggest to us that Jesus is the supreme teacher, and even an embodiment of his teachings; but do they clearly set forth the divine Lord in whom we find the Life Eternal?

Princeton.

CHARLES R. ERDMAN.

THE REAPPEARING. BY CHARLES MORICE. A Vision of the Return of Christ to Paris. New York, George H. Doran Company. 12mo, pp. 212. Price \$1.20 *net*.

This English translation of "*Il Est Ressuscité*" has not awakened in America the furor occasioned by the original in France, yet it can hardly fail to arouse deep interest in the mind of every thoughtful reader. The fancy of a visible appearance among men of the living Christ, is by no means novel; nor is one surprised at the distressing assumption that such a reappearing is certain to be met with rejection and disregard; yet beneath the thinly veiled disguise of this particular allegory there can be discerned rather unexpected suggestions of spiritual truth.

The return of Christ to Paris on the fourteenth of December 1910, is supposed to occasion a temporary outburst of excitement, and to be attended by a sudden spasm of virtue, and a passing epidemic of righteousness; but the whole social and commercial systems are so disturbed and deranged that a reaction of disfavor and disapproval soon sets in. The multitudes who hastened to meet Christ were impelled by motives of mere curiosity or definite self-interest; and they are disappointed by his claims of allegiance to his laws; and his demand of self-sacrifice. The scientists come with their questions, but are too content with their own discoveries of means for the amelioration of human ills to feel any need of a Saviour. The sensualist is distressed to find his life of sinful indulgence rebuked and restrained by the presence of Divine purity. The money seeker finds dishonest practices impossible. The newspapers find nothing of interest to print; thousands are thrown out of employment; the price of stocks falls; the government sees that a crisis is at hand; and an official request is sent to the Lord requesting him to depart.

Such a satire is not merely an arraignment of the unchristian character of French social and commercial standards; it suggests the conscious yearning for a spiritual awakening but also the cynical despair of its possibility. The "*Reappearing of Christ*" is intended to embody the truth that he is ever returning and pleading for acceptance, and claiming obedience; as the author imagines him to say, "*Visible or invisible the Son of Man returns every day*". But is he wanted? Is he welcomed? This is the solemn question; and its tragic answer is found in the intellectual pride, the sensuality, and the commercial greed, which request him to depart out of their coasts.

There are those who hear him gladly; but for the nation, his law is too exacting, the cost of his presence is too great.

However fanciful or even grotesque that satire may seem to some, it can hardly fail to illustrate the words of the Master: "If anyone will come after me let him deny himself and take up his cross and follow me". And quite as forcefully does it emphasize the truth that ever and again the soul does catch a glimpse of Christ and does feel a yearning for a higher life, but counts the cost too great, and loses the vision.

However imperfect, too, the conceptions of the writer may be as to the person and work of the Lord, his book contains nothing intentionally irreverent, but rather embodies a passionate moral appeal to the conscience of a nation which he regards as practically without Christ.

Princeton.

CHARLES R. ERDMAN.

JOHN THE LOYAL. BY A. T. ROBERTSON, M.A., D.D., Professor of New Testament Interpretation, Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville, Ky. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons. Cloth, 12 mo, pp. 316. Price \$1.25 net.

This admirable portrayal of the life and character of the great forerunner of our Lord is probably unsurpassed in helpfulness and value by anything now existing in the literature of this fascinating theme. Some will feel that it would have been wiser to designate the volume by the more conventional title of "John the Baptist" or by some such phrase as that contained in the sub-title, "Studies in the Ministry of the Baptist"; but the writer purposely avoids these terms in order to emphasize the important truth that John was not a ceremonialist; "the spiritual reality was first in his mind and his message"; the ordinance was secondary". There is a possible danger here, however, of insisting too definitely that the supremacy of John is to be found in his loyalty, rather than in his privilege; in his moral greatness, rather than in his official greatness; in his fidelity rather than in the fact that he was "the friend of the Bridegroom". The writer wisely insists on ascribing to John both these forms of greatness, but the choice of the title indicates the one on which he lays the final stress in his argument.

The author indicates his familiarity with the various problems of literary criticism involved in the treatment of his historical materials, but he wisely relegates the discussion of these problems to foot-notes and references. He is uniformly conservative without appearing to be dogmatic or to offer what is merely traditional.

Among the many excellent features of his literary style is a remarkable power of condensation. Practically every New Testament passage bearing upon the career of John is carefully treated, but with such genius as to only add ever new touches to the vivid pictures and dramatic scenes in the romantic biography of his hero.

Above all else, the reader finds in every chapter some definite, but not obtrusive, application of truth to his own life, making its inspiring

appeal to his heart. It is thus no slight service that has been rendered in this careful interpretation of the character and career of John.

Princeton.

CHARLES R. ERDMAN.

GROWTH OF THE MISSIONARY CONCEPT. BY JOHN F. GOUCHER, D.D., LL.D. New York: Eaton and Mains. 12mo; cloth, pp. 202. Price \$.75 net. This volume comprises "The Nathan Graves Foundation Lectures" delivered before Syracuse University. One can imagine the deep and appreciative interest awakened by the delivery of these fascinating discourses. The author was peculiarly qualified for his task. His long experience as an educationalist, his personal observations in the great mission fields, his passionate devotion to the missionary enterprise, enabled him to treat his subject, not only with intelligence and insight, but with striking vividness and absorbing interest. "The growth of the missionary concept" is traced through the phases which are suggested by the following brief titles of the five lectures: "The Impossible", "The Improbable", "The Imperative", "The Indispensable", "The Inevitable". Only those who have considered the problem of the world's evangelization superficially are shown to have pronounced its solution "impossible"; even the most careful students must regard it as "improbable", aside from divine power and wisdom and love; the co-operation of Christians is "imperative"; the relation of Christ to the enterprise is "indispensable", and is the guarantee that the complete solution is "inevitable". Such, in brief, is the substance of the lectures, but their characteristic nature is their method of treatment. While the discussion is logical, the thought is impressed by an almost continual series of instructive illustrations and concrete facts. The first three lectures are portrayals of the work of Morrison and Collins, and of the present condition in China; the fourth lecture finds its illustrations in the missions of India; and the fifth, with reference to both the United States and India, shows hows the forces of civilization are providential instruments which are being employed in the evangelization of the world. No one who begins the reading of this volume will fail to complete it, or to enjoy its broad and practical view of the missionary problem.

THEORY AND PRACTICE OF FOREIGN MISSIONS. BY JAMES M. BUCKLEY, D.D., LL.D. New York; Eaton and Mains. Cloth. 12mo. pp. 151. Price \$.75 net. These lectures were delivered before Syracuse University, on the Nathan Graves Foundation, in 1908, but have been published only recently. They are four in number and deal respectively with "The Basis of Foreign Missions", "The Methods, Means and Men of Christian Missions", "The Hindrances and Helps to Missions", and "The Present and Future of Foreign Missions". The titles indicate a wide range of sub-topics, covering almost the entire field of missionary problems and methods. The treatment of each subject must necessarily be very brief, and in some cases fragmentary; and one might almost wish that the distinguished author had dealt more conclusively with some of the questions involved; but the very

multiplicity of themes was due to his encyclopaedic knowledge of the missionary enterprise, and his style is so clear and attractive that the reader usually feels that a longer discussion would be enjoyable, no matter what the theme or however satisfactory the treatment.

CHRISTIAN COUNSEL. By THE REVEREND DAVID SMITH, M.A., D.D., Professor of Theology in Magee College, Londonderry. New York and London, Holder and Stoughton. Cloth. 12mo. Pp. 236. This is an unusual book, and is the product and illustration of a somewhat unique ministry. The author is well known by his volume entitled "The Days of His Flesh", and also a professor at Londonderry; but during the past five years he has been conducting, through *The British Weekly*, a correspondence in answer to letters, from all parts of the world, containing questions as to Christian faith and life. This volume contains a selection from the large number of replies which have been written to these widely scattered inquirers. Yet it is not a mere random collection of extracts from this correspondence, but a careful arrangement of brief monographs upon various phases of the following great themes: God, The Church, The Lord's Supper, The Lord's Day, The Holy Ministry, The Holy Scriptures, The Work of Grace, Doubt, The Christian Life. While concise in form, and pointed in statement, the discussions are by no means fragmentary. In each the question is fairly met; there is no attempt to becloud the issue; and the reply is framed with admirable frankness and clearness. Each chapter is well illustrated and is closed with an apt and profitable quotation. Among the most helpful pages of the volume are those which deal with "The Holy Ministry". No other theme in fact is treated with equal fulness; and in his suggestions relative to "Pastoral Visitation", to "Clerical Department", "Pulpit-Prayer", "Plagiarism" and "Discouragement" the author reveals the wisdom developed by his years of pastoral experience.

From such an example of sane and helpful "Christian Counsel" one can estimate the value of the wide ministry the writer is exercising in this one of his several spheres of Christian service.

THE PROGRESS OF REVELATION. BY THE REV. G. A. COOKE, D.D., Oriel Professor of the Interpretation of Holy Scripture, Oxford; Canon of Rochester; Hon. Canon of St. Mary's Cathedral, Edinburgh; Examining Chaplain to the Bishop of Rochester and to the Bishop of Edinburgh. Edinburgh, T. & T. Clark, imported by Charles Scribner's Sons. Cloth, 12 mo, pp. 200. Price \$1.75 net. It will be confessed by some that a careful reading of this volume of sermons somewhat disappoints the high expectations aroused by the name of the distinguished author and stimulated by the admirable "Preface" which he has supplied. In the latter, it is wisely suggested that "The Christian preacher, charged with the care of souls, knows that the pulpit is not the place for controversial discussion. In the pulpit he is the pastor, not the critic. He will not obtrude his critical views". It is added, however, that these critical views "will color all he says".

Yet, in the sermons this coloring becomes at times, a blur; at least it leads one to question whether in "the care of souls" it is necessary to insist, that the Biblical writers "are not free from errors as to matters of fact"; that by them "the history of the past has been idealized"; that "the story of Abram and the revelations made by God to him belong to the sphere of legend"; that Job and Daniel are fictions and composed after the days of the exile. These are all familiar statements, and we are not surprised to read, as elsewhere, that Jonah is a fable borrowed from popular folklore; but it may awaken "controversial discussion" to assert that "the sign of Jonah" was not his miraculous deliverance from death, but "the appearance of a Hebrew prophet among guilty heathen"; and it may appear to be an "obtrusion of critical views" to insist that the apparently contradictory sentiments in the book of Ecclesiasties are to be explained by the supposition that "at least two admirers of the Preacher took his book in hand and inserted here and there wholesome religious remarks" of such corrective value as to secure the admission of the book into the canon of Scripture.

Yet it is not only the apparently unnecessary display of critical theories which disappoints the reader, but also the rather commonplace character of the religious teaching, the lack of human interest, the absence of evangelical fervor and spiritual power.

Most of the sermons are on the Old Testament; and so many of them are designed to show that the predictions of Hebrew prophets are fulfilled in the work of Christ and in the history of the Church, as to justify the selection of the title of "The Progress of Revelation". The sermons indicate the ripe scholarship and broad culture of the eminent author. The literary style is lucid and beautiful. The various discussions suggest an unshaken faith in a supernatural revelation, and in a divine Christ.

BUILDING A WORKING CHURCH. BY SAMUEL CHARLES BLACK, D.D., Pastor Collingwood Avenue Presbyterian Church, Toledo, Ohio. Fleming H. Revell Company. 12 mo. Cloth, pp. 257. Price \$1.25 net. This is a timely, fervent, sensible appeal for renewed effort to bring men to Christ, and into fellowship with his church. The language is unconventional, the style informal, the facts and methods familiar; yet the writer attains his purpose in impressing the truth that we do not need new opportunities or organizations but new fire and devotion and zeal. The message is addressed first of all to the pastor, but quite as truly to every member of the church. The pitifully slow growth of the average church is contrasted with the largeness of the opportunity. Then the part to be accomplished by pastor and people in the face of opposing forces, is set forth; and next, the need of a missionary and evangelistic and fraternal spirit; and then the aid of Sabbath Schools, of Societies for men and for women and for young people; and lastly, four examples of conversion are given, illustrating different methods of evangelistic work, and the various processes of the Holy Spirit. As the author himself declares, the

volume contains "a loud call to the ministry and to the church to gird loins anew and re-enter the fight for the conquest of the world".

VISIONS AND REVELATIONS. BY THE REVEREND J. T. DEAN, M.A., Edinburgh, T. & T. Clark. Imported by Charles Scribner's Sons. Cloth, 12mo, pp. 265. The author of these "Discourses on the Apocalypse" has followed the conventional interpretation of the "preterist school", and has found the predictions of the Book largely fulfilled in the events of the earliest Christian centuries. The "Beast" is imperial Rome; the "False Prophet" is "the native council of the province of Asia;" the destruction of "Babylon" is the fall of Rome; and the Coming of Christ "is long since past" as "He came into the world in the triumph of His Gospel". The general purpose of the Book is found in the encouragement it gives to Christian patience and faith and hope.

Many readers will feel that the encouragement is only the stronger in case the historic phenomena of the early centuries are regarded as foreshadowings of more marvellous events attending the literal and personal return of Christ. However, the writer has done well in emphasizing the historic occasion of the Apocalypse, and in suggesting the practical application of its prophetic messages. His discussion is such as to lead the reader to a new study of this neglected Book, and to a new confidence in the unfailing power and ultimate triumph of Christ.

THE BIBLE AND MODERN LIFE. BY CLAYTON SEDGWICK COOPER, International Secretary for Bible Study, of the Young Men's Christian Association. New York, Funk and Wagnalls Company. Cloth, 12mo, pp. 208. Price \$1.00 net. The author has had such wide experience in the stimulation of Bible study and the organization of Bible Classes among men, both at home and on his tour of the world, that he writes with something of authority, and with the interest of an enthusiast. It is not to be supposed that he treats modern views of the Bible nor the social, intellectual, or religious problems of modern life. His purpose is more simple, and more directly practical. It is to show how the study of the Bible can be most widely extended under the conditions of modern life, both in the city, and in the village, in the Orient, and in America, in large classes, and in small groups.

He suggests methods of organization, and courses to be followed, and literature to be employed. The discussion reaches its climax in the last chapter which suggests that Bible study should result in Christian service.

An extended appendix is added containing concrete examples of programmes, constitutions, and lists of books for the guidance of Bible-class leaders.

FROM THE RABBIS TO CHRIST. BY H. L. HELLYER. With an introduction by the Reverend Professor William Brenton Greene, Jr., D.D.

Philadelphia, The Westminster Press. 12mo, pp. 87. Price 25 cents; postage 3 cents. This personal narrative of conversion from Judaism to Christianity, is published for the three-fold purpose, of "arousing sympathy for the Jew in the hearts of Christians", of showing "how the Jew may best be reached with the Gospel", and of "presenting Christ to the Jew."

The story is vividly told in a spirit of sympathy for the Jews and of loyalty to Christ. One is made to understand the difficulty of missionary work among the Jews, the incredible blindness of heart that has fallen upon Israel, and the heavy obligation resulting upon the church for a faithful and persevering presentation of Christ.

REPORTS OF THE BOARDS OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, FOR THE YEAR 1911. These various reports, presented to the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church at its regular meeting, were collected by the Stated Clerk and promptly issued in their usual form. They contain a vast amount of valuable material and indicate the wide extent and increasing influence of our denominational activities. Copies of the Reports, bound in paper are sent, free of cost, to all pastors; copies in cloth, for 35 cents each. To other persons the price of the Reports is 40 cents in paper, and 65 cents in cloth.

Princeton.

CHARLES R. ERDMAN.

GENERAL LITERATURE.

ENGLISH LITERATURE IN ACCOUNT WITH RELIGION. By EDWARD MORTIMER CHAPMAN. Houghton, Mifflin Company, Boston and New York.

In suggestive keeping with the treatise later reviewed, the volume before us aims to show the pronounced presence of religious thought and sentiment in our nineteenth century authorship, thus completing the study from Alfred to Victoria. Written by a clergyman, the book significantly reminds us of the conspicuous part taken by the clergy in the development of English Letters, finding therein as they do so much that is in harmony with their daily thought and life as ministers of truth to men.

After calling attention in his Introduction to Religion and Literature as related, naturally and historically, he surveys practically the entire literary content of the last century in prose and verse, emphasizing authors and movements as they have especially served to exhibit this ethical spirit as the century went on.

Of the sixteen chapters some are of particular interest, such as "The Apostles of Revolt", Byron and Shelley; "Elijah and Elisha", as represented in Carlyle and Ruskin; "The New Radicalism", as seen in James Mill and John Stuart Mill, in Bushnell, Martineau and Emerson; "The Doubters and The Mystics", as seen in Clough, Matthew Arnold, William Morris and The Rossettis; "The Sons of the

Morning", Wordsworth and Coleridge; "The Great Twin Brethren", Tennyson and Browning; and "The Later Fiction" as it appears in the pages of Meredith and Stevenson, Hardy and Kipling. It is really a fresh and somewhat original treatment of an old subject, so that as we go on through the successive chapters we are more and more convinced that English Literature is indeed in account with religion, as unmistakably in the nineteenth century as in the ninth, and that thus the continuity is fully preserved.

Emphasis should be laid upon the absolute fairness displayed by the author in the discussion of such writers as Byron, Clough, Matthew Arnold, Poe, Whitman and the Edinburgh Reviewers, and, also, upon the chaste and vigorous English style in which the thought is presented.

To theological students in particular this volume should be heartily commended as emphasizing the close connection of our English Bible and English religious thought and life with our historic English Literature.

T. W. HUNT.

BIBLICAL QUOTATIONS IN MIDDLE ENGLISH LITERATURE. By MARY W. SMYTH, PH.D. Henry Holt & Co., New York. 1911.

Students of the English Language and Literature are under no little indebtedness to a series of publications under the caption, "Yale Studies in English", ranging from the Old English days of Alfred and Aelfric on through the following centuries down to the time of Milton.

Under the general editorship of Professor Cook, they have been prepared by candidates for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy and presented as such to the Faculty of The Graduate School of Yale. Of the forty-one theses thus far published, nearly one-third have been by women, as in the example before us. Miss Smyth, in her thesis, has aimed to do for the earlier part of our Middle English, that is to 1350, what Professor Cook has done so acceptably for the preceding period in his "Biblical Quotations in Old English Prose Writers", including, however, both prose and verse. The extension of this plan from 1350 on through the latter part of the Middle English Period to the time of Caxton and the opening of Modern English in the days of Elizabeth would furnish an equally inviting field. Miss Smyth in her Introduction writes in a very attractive and helpful way on five or six topics in keeping with her theme—

Knowledge and Love of the Bible in Old and Middle English,
 Historical Survey of Biblical Translations,
 General Character and Value of the Translations,
 Comparison of Translations of Given Passages,
 Amount of the Bible Translated into Middle English,
 Ways of Using the Bible,

in all of which suggestions she reveals a genuine and sympathetic interest in her theme as scriptural and practical.

As to the various selections from which the quotations are made,

suffice it to say that they include some of the best specimens of Early English, such as Early English Prayers, The Ancren Riwe, Handlyng Synne, English Metrical Homilies, The Pricke of Conscience and The Ayenbite of Inwit. These quotations clearly show that knowledge and love of the Bible for which our English forefathers were distinguished,

It was just here, in these Pre-Elizabethan authors, that the biblical element in our English Literature received its first acknowledgment and emphasis, an element which strikingly appears in the Plays of Shakespeare as Bishop Wordsworth has shown us, on through the Poetry of Milton down to the days of Tennyson and Browning. The accomplished author of this scholarly thesis has done all English students an acceptable service in thus recalling our attention to the fact that English Literature from the beginning is saturated with scripture, and woe to that writer who ignores the fact.

T. W. HUNT.

THE STORY OF ANTONIO THE GALLEY SLAVE. A Romance of Real Life. In Three Parts. By ANTONIO ANDREA ARRIGHI. New York, Chicago, Toronto, London and Edinburgh: Fleming H. Revell Company. [1911]. Pp. 266. \$1.25 net.

A story of thrilling interest; not fiction, but autobiography; which recites the experiences of one who was a drummer boy in Garibaldi's army, a galley slave under papal officers, a young man stirred by American life, a mature man in the Redeemer's service. It has historical value, too, for the glimpse it affords of the struggle for Italian liberty in 1849. Place it in the hands of your boy of sixteen.

Princeton.

JOHN D. DAVIS.

PERIODICAL LITERATURE.

American Journal of Theology, Chicago, October: E. VON DOBCHÜTZ, Most Important Motives for Behavior in the Life of the Early Christians; HENRY P. SMITH, Hebrew View of Sin; BENJAMIN B. WARFIELD, The "Two Natures" and Recent Christological Speculation. II. The New Testament Jesus the Only Real Jesus; JOHN E. LE BOSQUET, Classification and Evolution of Miracle; FRANK H. FOSTER, Christology of a Modern Rationalist; GEORGE GALLOWAY, Religious Experience and Theological Development; GEORGE H. GILBERT, Critique of Professor Warfield's Article, "The Christology of the New Testament Writings"; SHAILER MATHEWS, Is Belief in the Historicity of Jesus Indispensable to Christian Faith?; Recent Theological Literature.

Bibliotheca Sacra, Oberlin, October: F. J. LAMB, Miracle and the Christian Religion; EDWARD P. GARDNER, Nature and the Supernatural as together Constituting One System of God; THOMAS V. PARKER, Second Advent and Modern Thought; O. W. FIRKINS, Sincerity in

Literature; WILLIAM NOTZ, Babel-Bible Controversy; HAROLD M. WIENER, Fifth Chapter of Wellhausen's Prolegomena; LESTER REDDIN, Hebrews a Petrine Document; H. C. HOSKIER, "Authorized" Version of 1611.

Church Quarterly Review, London, October: ARTHUR C. HEADLAM, Value of the Establishment of the Church; H. ST. JOHN THACKERAY, Present Position of New Testament Studies; C. E. A. BEDWELL, The Temple Church; CHARLES GORE, Mystical Element of Religion; JOHN VAUGHAN, Winchester Cathedral Library from the Reformation to the Commonwealth; Board of Education and Educational Endowments: W. H. FRERE, Use of Exeter; Disestablishment and Disendowment of the Welsh Church.

East and West, London, October: K. T. PAUL, Indian Methods of Evangelisation; R. G. WILKINSON, Wild Tribes of British Malaya; BISHOP MONTGOMERY, Japan; G. SHERWOOD EDDY, Situation in China; DONALD MACGILVRAY, Need of More and Better Christian Literature in China; ROLAND ALLEN, The Will to Convert in Mission Schools; J. O. F. MURRAY, Board of Study for the Preparation Missionaries; K. A. HOUGHTON, Proposed South African College, HENRY MATTHEWS, Christian and Heathen Marriages in China; W. A. NORTON, Need of Philological and Ethnological Training for the Missionary Field; MARK LEVY, A Parable and Its Interpretation.

Expositor, London, December: W. M. RAMSAY The Thought of Paul; G. MARGOLIOUTH, Sadducean Christians of Damascus; S. R. DRIVER, Book of Judges; C. HAROLD DODD, Eucharistic Symbolism in the Fourth Gospel; WILFRID RICHMOND, Note on the Great Omission by St. Luke of St. Mark 6:45-8:3; J. W. DIGGLE, Duty of Self-Love.

Expository Times, Edinburgh, December: Notes of Recent Exposition; F. W. WORSLEY, Sealed Book of the Apocalypse; Literature; JOHN KELMAN, Pilgrim's Progress: From Interpreters' House to the House Beautiful; Great Text Commentary; G. A. FRANK KNIGHT, Illustrations of Spiritual Truths from Gibbons' "Decline and Fall."

Harvard Theological Review, Boston, October: HERAMBACHANDRA MAITRA, Emerson from an Indian Point of View; DANIEL EVANS, Ethics of Jesus and the Modern Mind; HERBERT A. YOUTZ, Critical Problem of Theology To-Day: The Problem of Method; W. W. FENN, Concerning Natural Religion; DOUGLAS C. MACINTOSH, The Idea of a Modern Orthodoxy; MARY W. CALKINS, The Nature of Prayer.

Hibbert Journal, Boston and London, October: ARTHUR J. BALFOUR, Creative Evolution and Philosophic Doubt; HENRI BERGSON, Life and Consciousness; ALFRED LOISY, The Christian Mystery; ADOLF HARNACK, Greek and Christian Piety at the End of the Third Century; WILLIAM SANDAY, The Apocalyptic Element in the Gospels; J. ARTHUR THOMPSON, Is There One Science of Nature?; L. P. JACKS, A Psychologist among the Saints; HENRY JONES, Corruption of the Citizenship of the Workingman; J. ESTLIN CARPENTER, Sikh Religion; W. C. D. and CATHERINE D. WHETHAM, Decadence and Civilization; JAMES B. PRATT, Religious Philosophy of William James; P. T. FOR-

SYTH, *Revelation and the Bible*; FRANK THILLY, *Characteristics of the Present Age*.

International Journal of Ethics, Philadelphia, October: FELIX ADLER, *Relation of the Moral Ideal to Reality*; NATHANIEL SCHMIDT, *The New Jesus Myth and its Ethical Value*; JAMES SETH, *Problem of Destitution: A Plea for the Minority Report*; A. K. ROGERS, *Godwin and Political Justice*; WALDO L. COOK, *Fraternal Basis of Socialism*; C. W. SUPER, *Ethnic Morality*.

Irish Theological Quarterly, Dublin and New York, October: T. SLATER, *Eugenics and Moral Theology*; H. POPE, *Wealth of the Hebrews*; J. GHELLINCK, *Sentences of Anselm of Laon and their Place in the Codification of Theology during the XIIth Century*; D. BARRY, *An Important Duty of our Public Bodies*; J. J. O'GORMAN, *The Two Editions of Challoner's New Testament*; St. Liguori *Probalism*; J. M. HARTY, *Decisions of the Biblical Commission*.

Jewish Quarterly Review, Philadelphia, October: ISAAC HUSIK, *An Anonymous Medieval Christian Critic of Maimonides*; DAVID W. AMRAM, *Retaliation and Compensation*; W. ST. CLAIR TISDALL, *Aryan Words in the Old Testament II*; ISRAEL DAVIDSON, *Poetic Fragments from Genizah III*; L. GRUENHUT, *Jazer and Its Site*; JULIUS H. GREENSTONE, *Books on Religious Pedogogy*; CYRUS ADLER, *Petrie's "Arts and Crafts of Ancient Egypt."* Hichens' *"Holy Land"*; ALEXANDER MARX, *Expulsion of Jews from Spain*. Margoliouth's *"Catalogue of Kabbalistic MSS. in the British Museum."* The *"Romm"* Misnah; HENRY MALTER, *Recent Jewish Literature*; MAX L. MARGOLIS, Pool's *"Kaddish."*

Jewish Review, London, November: *The Chief Rabbinate*; *Ecclesiastical Government of Anglo-Jewry*; *Anti-Semitism and Jew Hatred*; M. SIMON, *Anti-Semitism in England*; REDCLIFFE N. SALAMAN, *Jewish Achievements in Medicine*; D. DE SOLA POOL, *Influence of Some Jewish Apostates on the Reformation*; *Chanukah Reflections*; *Review of Books*.

Journal of Theological Studies, London, October: HENRY H. HOWORTH, *Influence of St. Jerome on the Canon of the Western Church*; *An Arian Sermon from a MS in the Chapter Library of Verona with Transcription by ANTONIO SPAGNOLO and Introduction and Notes by C. H. TURNER*; W. H. WORRELL, *Odes of Solomon and the Pistis Sophia*; H. ST. J. THACKERAY, *Poetry of Greek Book of Proverbs*; H. G. EVELYN-WHITE, *Introduction to Oxyrhynchus Sayings*; C. H. TURNER, *Latin Lists of Canonical Books*; C. F. BURNLEY, *On Certain South Palestinian Place-Names*; S. A. COOK, *Study of the Composite Writings of the Old Testament*; A. S. DUNCAN JONES, *Nature of the Church*.

London Quarterly Review, London, October; P. T. FORSYTH, *The Soul of Christ and the Cross of Christ*; ANNE E. KEELING, *Trial at Viterbo: A Study of the 'Camorra'*; G. ELSIE HARRISON, *Lollards in Time of Richard II*; F. W. ORDE WARD, *A New Christian Synthesis*; THURSTAN PETER, *A Chapter of Cornish Religious History*; J. ALFRED

FAULKNER, Luther and Economic Questions; JOHN S. BANKS, Principles of the Atonement.

Lutheran Church Review, Philadelphia, October: FRANK M. URICH, Comparative Religion; E. T. HORN, Jesus and Paul; G. F. SPIEKER, Church Polity in the Apostolic and Sub-Apostolic Age; C. M. JACOBS, Augsburg Confession. V. Doctrine of the Sacraments; J. F. OHL, The Church Hymn. Lutheran Teaching; EDWARD T. HORN, Historical and Theological Criticism of the Oxford Movement II; F. P. MAYSER, Melchizedek the Most Perfect Type of Christ; HEINRICH HEINE, An Appreciation of Luther; T. W. KRETSCHMANN, Problem of Candidates for the Ministry—To Improve the Situation; PETER ALTPETER, Chemnitz on the Term "Sacrament" and on the Number and Description of the Sacraments of the New Testament II; W. A. SADTLER, The First Universal Race Congress; GEORGE DRACH and C. F. KUDER, Beginnings of Foreign Mission Work in the Lutheran Church in America; G. F. SPIEKER, Church Polity in the Apostolic and Sub-Apostolic Age.

Lutheran Quarterly, Gettysburg, October: L. B. WOLF, Foreign Missions as a Working Basis for Lutheran Unity; V. G. A. TRESSLER, Most Recent Assaults of the Higher Critical Theology on the Person of Christ; GEORGE SCHOLL, New Measure Movement as a Factor in the Development of the General Synod; UPTON A. HANKEY, Life and Message of Tolstoi; LEANDER KEYSER, Christ's Personal Presence; A. D. POTTS, Exposition of Lent; EDWIN H. DELK, Karl Marx; GEORGE U. WENNER, Ritualism.

Methodist Review, New York and Cincinnati, November-December: C. M. STUART, The American Newspaper; G. P. MAINS, Brooke Foss Westcott; E. A. SCHELL, Decline and Fall of Antony and Rome; J. A. FAULKNER, Where Did We Get our Lord's Supper Service?; E. M. ANTRIM, Place of the Laity in the Church; A. C. KNUDSON, Evolution of Modern Bible Study; A. S. HASKINS, Blessings of the Sanctuary; J. M. M. GRAY, Lions of Linlithgow.

Methodist Review Quarterly, Nashville, October: O. A. CURTIS, New Estimate of the Theological Situation; B. B. WARFIELD, How Shall We Baptize?; HENRY C. KING, Facts that Abide; JAMES MUDGE, Horace Bushnell; The Crusade against Modernism and Its Results; CHARLES E. STOWE, Cost of National Unity; J. W. GILBERT, Voice from the Negro Race; C. A. WATERFIELD, The Imminent Duty; H. G. ENELOW, Ethical Element in the Talmud.

Monist, Chicago, October: RICHARD GARBE, Contributions of Buddhism to Christianity; PHILIP E. B. JOURDAIN, Some Modern Advances in Logic; EPHRAIM M. EPSTEIN, Construction of the Tabernacle; HERBERT S. LANGFELD, Titchner's System of Psychology; The New Logic and the New Mathematics; Dr. Epstein on the Tabernacle.

Philosophical Review, Lancaster and New York, November: OSCAR EWALD, German Philosophy in 1910; THEODORA DE LAGUNA, Externality of Relations; WILLIAM K. WRIGHT, Psychology of Punitive Justice; Review of Books; Summaries of Articles.

Reformed Church Review, Lancaster, October: Index of Authors of Articles in the Reformed Church Review; Index to the Reformed Church Review, 1849-1911; Book Notices.

Review and Expositor, Louisville, October: W. T. WHITLEY, Character and History of the 1611 Version; JOHN C. METCALF, English Bible in English Literature; EDWIN M. POTEAT, Tolstoy's Religion; LESTER REDDIN, Priestly Element in the New Testament; JOHN P. FRUIT, Hawthorne's Immitigable; A. J. DICKINSON, Letters and Epistles of Paul.

Theological Quarterly, St. Louis, October: Walther the Lutheran; Romanism a Plagiarism on Paganism; Proof Texts of the Catechism with a Practical Commentary; Luther's Views of Liberty of Conscience.

Union Seminary Magazine, Richmond, October-November: A. M. FRASER, The Louisville Assembly; THOMAS C. JOHNSON, Clement Read Vaughn; A. F. SCHAUFFLER, International Sunday School Lessons; THERON H. RICE, Some Lessons from the Training of the Twelve; E. C. GORDON, Christ or Caesar; F. FRANK PRICE, The Challenge of China.

Bulletin d'ancienne littérature et d'archéologie chrétiennes, Paris, Octobre: GERMAIN MORIN, La basilique dédiée à saint Pierre par le pape Symmaque sur la Via Triviana; PIERRE BATIFFOL, Les présents de saint Cyrille à la cour de Constantinople; LOUIS GOUGAUD, Etude sur les *Loricæ* celtiques et sur les prières qui s'en rapprochent.

La Ciencia Tomista, Madrid, Noviembre-Diciembre: G. ALONSO GETINO, Maestro Francisco de Vitoria; MARIN SÓLA, La Homogeneidad de la doctrina católica; GÓMEZ IZQUIERDO, Andrés Piquer y Arrufit; MESTRE, El budismo y el basilidismo; PEDRO N. DE MEDIO, De Teología moral; S. MESSEGUER, De Filosofía: Criteriología; COLUNGA, De Derecho eclesiástico.

Deutsch-Amerikanische Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche, Berea, November-Dezember: HERMANN VON BERGE, Die Bedeutung der Suggestion in verlängerten Versammlungen; GEORGE GUTH, Die moralische Vollkommenheit Jesu Christi; G. GÄHR, Gottes Vaterschaft.

Foi et Vie, Paris, Decembre 1st.: P. DOUMERGUE, Avant de se mettre en route; Un Romancier chrétien; EMILE BOUTROUX, L'Au-delà intérieur; CHARLES COMBES, L'apparence; P. DOUMERGUE, Propos brefs; GASTON RIOU, Les symptômes de la Renaissance religieuse en France; ANDRÉ DE BLAVIER, Un ordre laïque anglican; DE SAINT-CHARLES, Questions sociales: Une école d'horticulture pour femmes.

Lehre und Wehre, St. Louis, November: Luther und Walther "Nachbeter" und "Stammler"; Walther-Erinnerungen; Die Assyriologie und das Alte Testament.

Recherches de Science Religieuse, Paris, Novembre-Decembre: ALFRED DURAND, Le discours de la Cène: IV. La Prière sacerdotale du Christ; LOUIS DE MONDADON, Bible et Église dans saint Augustin: III. La controverse philosophique; JOSEPH DE GHELLINCK, A propos du premier emploi du mot *Transsubstantiation*: JULES LEBRETON, *Mater*

Ecclesia; XAVIER LE BACHELET, Bellarmin et le Molinisme avant et pendant la controverse de *auxiliis*; ADHÉMAR D'ALÈS, Commodien et son temps.

Revue Bénédictine, Paris, Juillet-Octobre: D. H. QUENTIN, Manuscrits démembrés; D. P. BIHLMAYER, Un texte non interpolé de l'apocalypse de Thomas; D. J. CHAPMAN, Cassiodorus and the Echnernach Gospels; D. G. MORIN, Liturgie et basiliques de Rome au milieu du VIIe siècle d'après les listes d'Évangiles de Würzburg,—Le Pseudo-Bède sur Psaumes, et l'*opus super* Psalterium de maître Manegold de Lautenbach; D. A. WILMART, Le Psautier de la Reine No. 11. Sa provenance et sa date,—L'âge et l'ordre des messes de Mone; D. P. DENIS, D. Vincent Marsolle, 4e Supérieur général de la Congrégation de Saint-Maur.

Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique, Louvain, Octobre: C. CALLEWAERT, La méthode dans la recherche de la base juridique des premières persécutions (suite et fin); L. BRIL, Les premiers temps du christianisme en Suède. Étude critique des sources littéraires hambourgeoises (suite et fin); PAUL FOURNIER, Le Décret de Burchard de Worms. Ses caractères, son influence (suite et fin); PH. VAN ISACKER, Notes sur l'intervention militaire de Clément VIII en France à la fin du XVIe siècle.

Revue de Théologie et des Questions Religieuses, Montauban, Septembre: J. A. PORRET, Un Coup de sonde dans une grande question (suite et fin); P. FARD, A propos du Pragmatisme; HENRI BOIS, La Christologie et le Subconscient (suite et fin); L. PERRIER, Religion et Psychothérapie; LÉON MARCHAND, L'Évangélisation des indigènes par les indigènes dans les îles centrale du Pacifique; ANDRÉ JALAGUIER, La Conversion des Adolescents.

Revue de Théologie et de Philosophie et Compte Rendu, Lausanne, Mai-Aout: M. LANDRISET, Pourquoi notre prédication ne porte-t-elle pas plus de fruits?; PAUL SCHNEGG, La philosophie religieuse de J. J. Gourd; H. TRABAUD, L'Introduction à l'Ancien Testaments dans sa phase actuelle; P. LOBSTEIN, Quelques enseignements du modernisme; ERNEST MOREL, Les sources du récit johannique de la passion d'après Maurice Goguel; FERNAND BARTH, La notion paulinienne de $\psi\chi\eta$.

Revue des Sciences Philosophiques et Théologiques, Kain (Belgique), Octobre: H. D. NOBLE, Le Plaisir et la Joie; A. DE POULPIQUET, Apologétique et Théologie; R. M. MARTIN, La Question du Péché Originel dans saint Anselme; M. D. ROLAND-GOSSELIN et M. JACQUIN, Bulletin d'histoire de la Philosophie; A. DE POULPIQUET, Bulletin d'Apologétique; A. GARDEIL et R. M. MARTIN, Bulletin de Théologie spéculative.

Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie, Innsbruck, XXXV Band, 4 Heft: E. DORSCH, St. Augustinus und Hieronymus über die Wahrheit der biblischen Geschichte (2 Art.); H. WIESMANN, Der zweite Teil Buches der Weisheit (3 Art.); C. A. KNELLER, Cyprian und die römische Kirche; H. BRUDERS, Mt. 16:19; 18:18 und John 20:22-23 in frühchristlicher Auslegung. Die Kirche der Donatisten. (5 Art.)

